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STUDIES *in* ANCIENT INDIAN SEALS

A study of north Indian seals and sealings from *circa* third century B C. to mid-seventh century A. D.

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

AKHILA BHARATIYA SANSKRIT PARISHAD,
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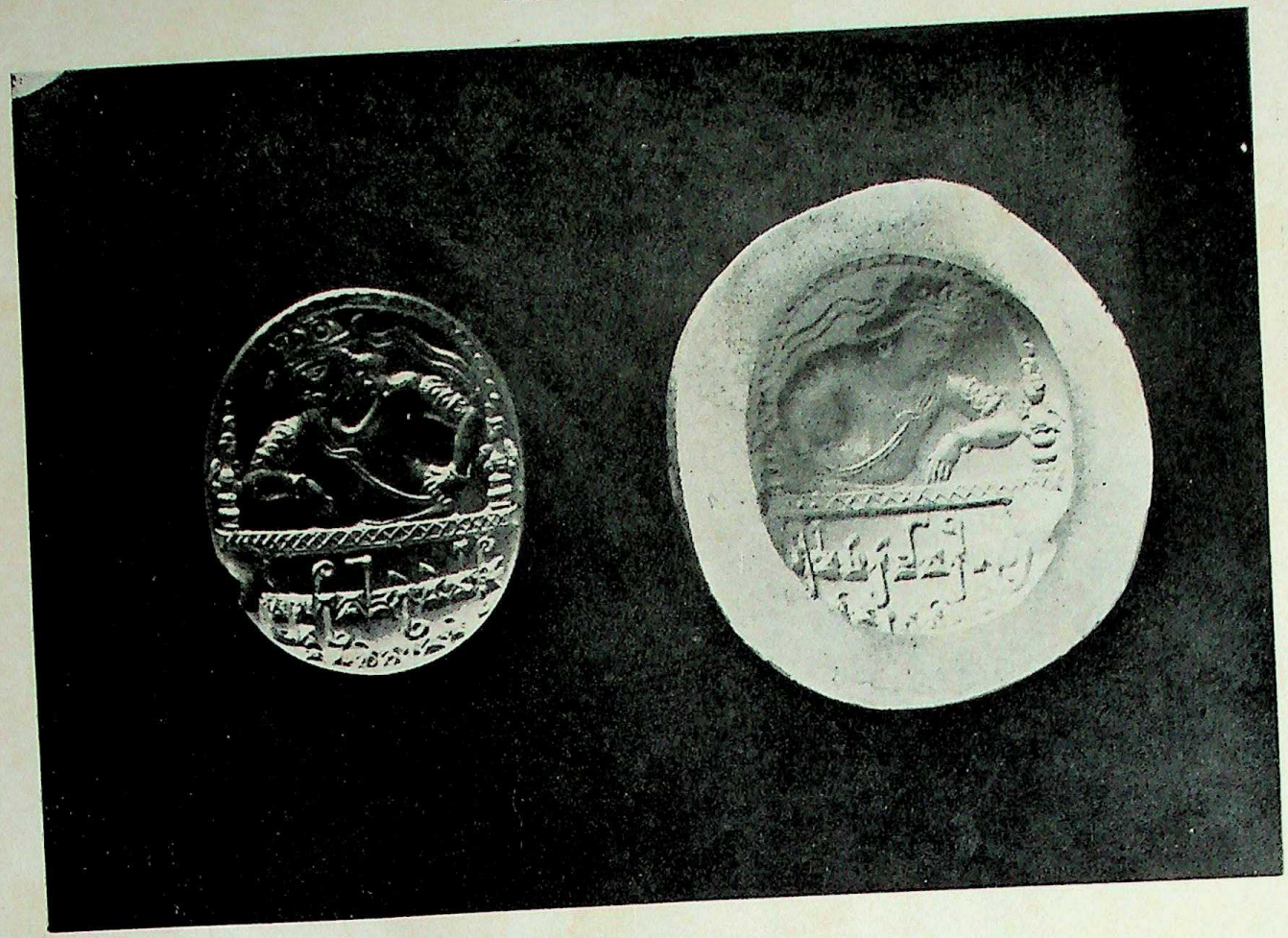

Seal of Avarighsa
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STUDIES
IN
ANCIENT INDIAN SEALS

A STUDY OF NORTH INDIAN SEALS AND SEALINGS
FROM *CIRCA* THIRD CENTURY B.C.
TO MID-SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL
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IN
MEMORY
OF
MY FATHER
SHRI MAHESHANAND THAPLYAL

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PREFACE

The present work is a study of seals and sealings of Northern India from *circa* third century B. C. to mid-seventh century A. D. and substantially represents my dissertation on which the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was awarded by the University of Lucknow in 1966. As the deciphertment of the Harappan seals is still debated and the post-Harappan ones up to *circa* third century B. C. are negligible in numbers, it was found convenient to take up the present study from the third century B. C.—a period which, incidentally, also corresponds with the beginning of the 'historic period' in the strict sense of the term. Similarly, the choice of limiting our study to the mid-seventh century A. D. has been actuated from the fact that it marks the close of the glorious reign of the illustrious Emperor Harsha. The account has been confined, in the main, to a consideration of the glyptics of the Indian sub-continent roughly north of Nagpur. However, a few seals from South Cambodia have been included because of their typo-technical affinities with India whence they seem to have been carried there.

The study of glyptics remained neglected till the beginning of the present century. Even afterwards, for some time, the writings on seals were generally confined to excavation reports and some short notices. Later, their evidence was utilized by scholars for political, administrative and socio-economic histories and their iconographic import was discussed by the late Prof. J. N. Banerjea. But an independent, systematic, comprehensive and up to date study of seals of early historic period has been a desideratum.

We have attempted to utilize the evidence of seals, both published and unpublished, discovered hitherto in excavations and explorations or obtained by chance at various sites and lying in private and public collections. It will be seen that some new evidence has been brought to light and new readings and interpretations of a few published ones have been attempted. As far as possible, seals, both published and unpublished, have been studied first hand and photographed afresh.

We have described briefly the legend and device together at one place in the context in which these had maximum bearing, and merely referred to them at others, if needed. When confronted with many seals of one type and provenance, only the most well-preserved one has been described while others have merely been referred to, or presented in a table-form. In cases where many legends were of a more or less similar character, only one or a

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few have been translated. As far as possible, the glyptics have been studied in a chronological sequence but, in some cases, for convenience, they have either been examined site-wise or typology has been followed. Sometimes, the legends are first classified according to type and then commented upon together. And, since references to particular seals have been added while describing them individually, these have generally not been repeated when studied together in the same chapter or referred to in others. Although the difference in the use of the words 'seal' and 'sealing' has been maintained while describing the two singularily, the former has been used to cover the both while referring to them in a general way. Following general practice, seal-impressions on copper-plates have been referred to as seals, though, strictly speaking, they are sealings.

Most of the seal-legends may be likened to *sūtras*. Reconstruction of history from their evidence is like collecting and assembling scattered and fragmentary pieces of bones into a skeleton. To invest them with flesh and blood and make them living and lively, even with the help of literature and epigraphs, though easy for a novelist, is an extremely arduous task for a student of history who has to abstain from fiction.

A few divergencies of referring the same site by ancient and modern names and using Sanskrit and English words for the same object have been indicated by cross-references in the index. The manuscript was handed over to the Publishers in 1967 and only minor additions of fresh evidence have been made, wherever deemed necessary. Some unpublished seals, which are still under study or about which information received was inadequate or late, could not be included, while a few could not be illustrated for want of good photographs. We crave the indulgence of the readers for errors of omission and commission some of which have been rectified in *Addenda et Corrigenda*.

The system of transliteration followed in this work is the same as that of the Archaeological Survey of India and may be understood from the following examples: *Kṛishṇa, Kaṁsa, Lichchhavi*.

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

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I

It is my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to Prof. R. K. Dikshit for his guidance, encouragement and courtesy. I am grateful to my learned examiners, Prof. C. D. Chatterjee and Prof. N. R. Ray, for their appreciation of my work and their helpful suggestions. The many debts I owe to various scholars, either through verbal communications and correspondence or contributions in print, have been duly acknowledged in the body of the text and footnotes. Special mention in this regard may be made of Sarvashri Krishna Deva, M. N. Deshpande, J. P. Misra and Dr. S. D. Singh. Regarding illustrations, I received some suggestions from Dr. B. N. Srivastava, Shri B. K. Thapar and Shri S. G. Tiwari. I am grateful to the late Professors J. N. Banerjea and V. S. Agrawala, Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, Shri C. Sivaramamurti, Prof. A. L. Basham and Shri Shyama Charan Kala for their interest in my work and encouragement. The plates have been arranged by Shri A. K. Ghose, Draftsman, Archaeological Survey of India, in consultation with Shri L. Dutt, and the jacket has been designed by Shri Y. P. Jakhmola. Dr. A. K. Kalia has helped in checking a few references in Sanskrit while Dr. S. P. Shukla, Shri Vinod Kumar and my wife have assisted me in correcting proofs and preparing the index. I am deeply beholden to all of them.

I am thankful to the staff of the libraries of the Archaeological Survey, New Delhi, Lucknow University, Lucknow, State Museum, Lucknow, and Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, for providing facilities of study, and to the University Grants Commission for extending some grant for conducting research work. Thanks are also due to Dr. S. V. Singh, Shri G. C. Sinha and Dr. J. P. Sinha, President, Secretary, and Jt. Secretary, respectively, of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, for undertaking its publication and to Shri P. N. Bhargava, Proprietor, Prem Printing Press, and his staff for the care bestowed on its printing. Some material contained in these pages has also been published by me in various journals, bulletins, etc., and detailed in the bibliography.

II

For permission to study the collection, take photographs, for supply of photographs and similar other facilities (without which a venture like this could hardly be feasible) grateful acknowledgements to the following authorities

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	..	*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.*
ABIHI	..	*Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology.*
AI	..	*Ancient India* (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India).
AIG	..	*Age of the Imperial Guptas*, by R. D. Banerji.
AIK	..	*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar.
AIOC	..	*All India Oriental Conference.*
AIU	..	*The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar.
Allahabad Museum	..	Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
ASIAR	..	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.*
Arch. Surv. of Ind.	..	Archaeological Survey of India.
ASR	..	*Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*, by Cunningham.
B. H. U.	..	Benares Hindu University.
Bṛihaspati	..	*Bṛihaspatismṛiti.*
Bull. of A. I. H. & Arch.	..	*Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology.*
Bull. of Mus. & Arch.	..	*Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*
CAI	..	*Coins of Ancient India*, by A. Cunningham.
CCAI	..	*Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, by J. Allan.
CCAWKTB	..	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, by E. J. Rapson.
CCGD	..	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa*, by J. Allan.
CCIM	..	*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, by V. A. Smith.
CCPM	..	*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, by R. B. Whitehead.
CGE	..	*The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, by A. S. Altekar.
CGGCBH	..	*Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, by A. S. Altekar.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CGSKBI	..	*Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, by Gardner.
CHI	..	*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ed. by E. J. Rapson.
CII	..	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol. II, ed. by Konow; Vol. III, ed. by Fleet; Vol. IV, ed. by Mirashi).
CLAIH	..	*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, *Lectures on the History of Ancient India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar.
Comp. (or Compr.) Hist. of Ind.		*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. by K. A. N. Sastri.
Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch.	..	Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology.
DHI	..	*Development of Hindu Iconography*, by J. N. Banerjea.
DKM	..	*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, by B. P. Sinha.
ed.	..	edited by or edition.
EHD	..	*Early History of the Deccan*, 2 Vols., ed. by G. Yazdani.
EHI	..	*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, by T. A. G. Rao.
EHNI	..	*Early History of North India*, by S. Chattopadhyaya.
EI	..	*Epigraphia Indica.*
G. E.	..	Gupta era.
G. O. S.	..	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
Hist. Asp. of Beng. Ins.	..	*Some Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, by B. C. Sen.
Hist. Beng.	..	*History of Bengal*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar.
HDS	..	*History of Dharmaśāstra*, by P. V. Kane.
HIIA	..	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, by A.K. Coomaraswamy.
HNEI	..	*History of North-Eastern India*, by R. G. Basak.
Hist. of Med. Hin. Ind.	..	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, by C. V. Vaidya.
HOS	..	*Harvard Oriental Series.*
IA	..	*Indian Antiquary.*
IC	..	*Indian Culture.*
IHQ	..	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Ind. Mus. Bull.	..	*Indian Museum Bulletin.*
Ind. Num. Chro.	..	*Indian Numismatic Chronicle.*

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J.	..	*Jātaka.*
JAS	..	*Journal of the Asiatic Society.*
JAOS	..	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASB	..	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBBRAS	..	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	..	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Soceity.*
JBRS	..	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
JGJRI	..	*Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.*
JIH	..	*Journal of Indian History.*
JISOA	..	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*
JNSI	..	*Journal of the Nunismatic Society of India.*
JOIB	..	*Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.*
JRAS	..	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
JUPHS	..	*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.*
Jr. Ind. Mus.	..	*Journal of the Indian Museums.*
LGAI	..	*Local Government in Ancient India*, by R. K. Mookerji.
LIGA	..	*Life in the Gupta Age*, by Saletore.
Lucknow Museum	..	State Museum, Lucknow.
MASI	..	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
MIC	..	*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, ed. by J. Marshall.
Manu	..	*Manusmṛiti.*
Mbh.	..	*Mahābhārata.*
P.	..	*Purāṇa; Parva.*
PAOC	..	*Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference.*
PE	..	Pillar Edict.
PHAI	..	*Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri
PIHC	..	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
Rāj.	..	*Rājataraṅgiṇī.*
Rām.	..	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
RE	..	Rock Edict.
Ṛig.	..	*Ṛigveda.*
SBE	..	*Sacred Books of the East.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

Śat. Br.	..	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Sel. Ins.	..	*Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, by D. C. Sircar.
U. or *Up.*	..	*Upanishad.*
Yāj.	..	*Yāñavalkyasmṛiti.*

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CHAPTER I

THE SEALS

Introductory

A seal is an engraved stamp bearing, singly or collectively, a device, mark or letters pertaining to the owner. A sealing is an impression of such a stamp on paper, parchment or some such substance as clay, wax, etc., and capable of being attached to a document to authenticate it or serve as signature or cognizance. Sometimes it was used to close a document so as to prevent it from being read by unauthorised persons. An impression on a lump of clay placed over the knot of a cord binding a parcel would protect its contents, from being tampered with. A seal-impression also serves as a quality mark in commercial exchanges and it could, at times, be used as passport which enabled the courier entrance to, or exit from, a particular place. At times, it also contained a pious formula, ethical or religious, in which case it was used for purposes of moral propaganda or kept in a shrine as a votive-offering or given to a pilgrim as a memento. Not infrequently, in earlier times, a seal was believed to possess religious and magical qualities and, as such, was used as a talisman. With the emergence of man from the early stages of civilization seals came to play an important part in human life. In all great ancient civilizations—those of Egypt, Sumeria, Babylonia, Assyria and India—the use of seals was widespread.

Seals and sealings are one of the few primary sources of history and culture. Hundreds—nay thousands—of them have been found in the course of excavations and explorations either as stray finds or *en masse*.[1] These range widely in time and provenance, shape and size, material and purpose, legends and motifs. They refer to kings and queens, princes and nobles, government offices and officials, educational institutions and economic organizations, temples and monasteries as well as private individuals of different social standing.

Like miniature paintings on clay, seals and sealings are cultural revelations. They throw interesting light on art, iconography and religious beliefs

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1. Seven hundred and ten of these were found in one chamber at Basarh (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 101) and Monastery No. 9 at Nalanda yielded no less than six hundred and ninety (*MASI*, 66, p. 36).

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of the past, on ancient trade and commerce, on systems of education and educational institutions and on the chronology of kings and general administration. They provide data which corroborate, supplement and also alter known facts of history[1] and, at times, supply new information not available from any other source.[2] Regarding Babylonian seals, Leon Legrain observes : "Certain figures and details are real landmarks of archaeology. They belong to certain fixed times, regions and peoples, or while borrowed from an older tradition, they acquired their special importance within certain limits of space and time."[3] These remarks are equally applicable to our seals.

Two kinds of seals were used in ancient times—the stamp and the cylinder. The former imparts its device to the medium by means of simple downward pressure, but the latter is rolled over the clay. Mesopotamia gave preference to the cylinder-type while Syria remained undecided; the peoples of Egypt, Crete and the Indus valley preferred the stamp seals.[4] This preference was continued by Indians even in the historic period.

Paucity of dies

Whereas in the period under review sealings have been found in abundance, seal matrices hitherto discovered are few and far between.[5] Sealings have generally been found in bulk at sites which were important centres of trade and commerce, religion or administration, and, as such, were recipients of letters, parcels and votive tablets. Moreover, a single die could make several seal-impressions. The die, in spite of its being baked and if not

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1. The seals and sealings unearthed at Bhita (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 44 ff.) showed that Brahmanism, and not Buddhism, as supposed by Cunningham, was the dominant religion during the period immediately following the Indo-Scythian rule in Northern India. Cunningham based his evidence on certain sculptural pieces and short inscriptions, allegedly said to have been found at Bhita or in its neighbourhood (*ASR*, III, p. 47). Similarly, the find of several Brahmanical sealings at Nalanda shows that the population around Nalanda was mostly of Brahmanical following.
2. See *infra*, Chapter II, where several kings hitherto unknown from any other source except the glyptics have been discussed.
3. *The Culture of Babylonia from the Seals in the Collection of the Museum*, pp. 52-53.
4. See Kenna, *Cretan Seals with a Catalogue of the Minoan Gems in the Ashmolean Museum*, pp. 3-4. According to him, "It is of interest to note that although in Mesopotamia and parts of Syria the cylinder seal gradually ousted the stamp seal, in Egypt the stamp seal took the place of the cylinder" (p. 4). It is, however, difficult to say which of these types was introduced earlier.
5. For example, the Nalanda excavations yielded only two dies whereas sealings were found in hundreds (*MASI*, 66, p. 26). Just the contrary is the case with Harappan sites

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already damaged as a result of wear and tear, was generally destroyed after the death of its owner so as to avoid its fraudulent use. In a few cases, it appears that dies escaped such fate, either because they were lost or not destroyed on account of their sentimental, artistic or intrinsic value.

Many of the seal-dies were perforated (pl. I, 2-3). They were threaded on strings for convenience in carrying and also for giving them the necessary pullback after making impressions.

Materials for dies

A variety of materials was used for making seal-dies, commonest being the clay.[1] Stone,[2] copper[3] and bronze[4] were also popular materials; silver seals are rare.[5] The Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta (II or III), once believed to have been made of silver, has now been shown to contain more copper than silver.[6] Evidence of brass being used for the manufacture of seal-dies is also not wanting.[7] Ivory, too, was not an uncommon material for manufacturing seals,[8] but such seals generally belonged to well-to-do people. In one

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where hundreds of seals were unearthed but only a few sealings. This is mainly due to the reason that the dies were made of steatite and then baked which made them lasting, while the salinity of soil and other destructive agencies have destroyed the sealings which were generally unbaked. It is well-known that the steatite objects from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, with animal figures and letters or only with letters carved on them, in the absence of their impressions, were labelled as amulets by some scholars. Recently, Lothal yielded more than seventy clay-impressions of such objects which definitely prove that they were used as seals (see Rao in the *Lalit Kalā*, nos. 3-4, p. 86; *Ancient India*, nos. 18 & 19, pl. XLIX B). Kalibangan too has yielded Harappan sealings (*IAR*, 1960-61, pl. XLVIII B; *ibid.*, 1961-62 LXIX A).

1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 9; *ibid.*, p. 49, nos. 10-13; *ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 19, nos. 2, 4, etc.; *JOIB*, XVII, pp. 166-67.
2. *ASR*, XI, pp. 25-26, pl. IX, 1 (from Sankisa); *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 7; Allahabad Museum, no. 93; Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 677-79, nos. 3, 9-10; *ibid.*, p. 681, nos. 28-A, 29, 30.
3. E.g. *JUPHS*, XII (1939), p. 85, nos. 5 and 6; Allahabad Museum, nos. 99, 237 (both from Kauśāmbī), 245 (from Ahichchhatrā) and 240 (from Lachhagir); Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 680-81, nos. 17-26.
4. E.g. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 104, 105, 106 and 108, nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14; *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 807-09, pl. facing p. 814, nos. 17-20; *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 4; Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 28.
5. For a silver seal, see Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 148 and II, p. 680.
6. *IA*, XIX, p. 224.
7. *ASR*, X, p. 4, pl. II. 4.
8. *JNSI*, XVI, (i), p. 73, no. 1; *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8.

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case an ivory seal had a copper circlet.[1] Bone[2] and shell seals are rare.[3] Literature bears testimony to the use of gold seals[4] but only a few of them have been reported so far.[5] This metal being precious, seals made out of it were probably melted for other uses after the owner's death. Only one example of lead has come to our notice,[6] while a few of glass have seen the light of the day.[7] No faience seal of the period under review is known though the material was in use during the Harappan period.[8] Wooden seals, if any, would have perished in Indian climatic conditions; Central Asian evidence, however, testifies to the manufacture of such ones.[9]

Shape and size

Various shapes of the seal-dies have been found viz. rectangular (pl. XXVIII, 6), pyramidal,[10] cylindrical,[11] square,[12] signet ring (pl. I, 1), button-shaped,[13] scaraboid,[14] pedestal-shaped (pl. II, 10), bottle-shaped (pl. I, 2) discular[15], etc. The surface containing the device and legend is generally oval and sometimes also circular but rarely rectangular.[16] The lump bearing the impression or impressions could be of any shape, circular, elliptical, ball-shaped or irregular. There is a good deal of variety in the size of these seals ranging roughly from half an inch to more than six inches in dimension.[17]

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1. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 31, no. 2.
2. For a bone seal see e.g. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 217, pl. LX, 64.
3. For shell seals, see Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 682, nos. 34 and 35.
4. *Harshacharita, uchchhvāsa* VII, p. 53.
5. *JBORS*, XX, pp. 3-4, nos. 3-4.
6. See *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 54 and 71.
7. Jayaswal has noticed some glass seals (*JBORS*, X, pp. 189-92 ; *ibid.*, XX (i), p. 4). One seal-impression on glass comes from Maheshwar (*JNSI*, XV, (ii), pp. 201-04, pl. VII, no. 1). For glass seals from Taxila, see Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, nos. 31-33.
8. The continuity of Harappan traditions in several matters is well-known, but the complete discard of faience, so popular a material for seals in Harappan times, is rather surprising.
9. Stein, *Serindia*, I, p. 380.
10. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 45 ; Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 677, nos. 2-7.
11. *Ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 31, no. 23.
12. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680, no. 24 ; *ibid.*, p. 681, no. 25 ; *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 192.
13. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 82.
14. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 677-79, nos. 8-13.
15. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 47-48, nos. 1, 5, 6 and 8, pl. XVII ; *ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 217, no. 64, pl. LX, 64.
16. It is interesting to note that the Harappan seals are mostly rectangular.
17. The Sonpat Seal of Harsha, for example, measures 5.7/8″x6.7/8″ (*CII*, III, pp. 231-32, pl. XXXII B).

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Manufacture of dies

The process of manufacture in cases of seals of stone, bone, shell and ivory involved cutting out a piece of that material to the required size, grinding and polishing it, engraving the legend and device and, sometimes, boring a hole in its back to insert a string or ring for facilitating easy stamping. Clay dies, however, did not involve much skill except the artistry in engraving the legend and the motif. The legend and motif were engraved in reverse and, in the impression, they stand out in relief if pressed on some soft substance ; when inked and pressed on some hard substance or on cloth, they would be seen in the colour of the material against a black field. No name of a seal-engraver of ancient India has come down to us; the size, nature and purpose of these objects and also the tendency to attach importance to the work rather than to the worker may have been responsible for this. Some of the die-cutters, who were not skilled, engraved the letters on the dies in the positive so that in impression these stood out in the negative as they should have been on the dies.[1]

Characteristic features

Seals and sealings bear either devices (pl. XXXIII) or legends (pl. XXVIII, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, etc.) or both (pls. IV, V). The device generally portrays a symbol or symbols—quite often animals and less frequently human beings or deities in human form. Whenever both, the legend and the device, occur, the latter generally appears on the upper field and the former on the lower—the two usually separated by one (pls. VII, 2 ; IX, 1) or two (pls. III, 4; VI, 1) and rarely three (pl. XXVII, 5) parallel lines which appear to serve as pedestals for the devices. Less often do we find the legend above and the device below it (pls. II, 3, 4 ; IV, 4, 7, 8), a feature quite common in the case of early coins. Sometimes, the legend is partly above the device and partly below (pl. V, 2, 6).

Legends are generally found written horizontally, but examples of circular ones, both clockwise (pl. XXIV, 2) or anti-clockwise (pl. XXIV, 1) as well as four letters inscribed on the four corners[2] are also known. Instances where the legend has to be read outwardly (pls. V, 7 ; XXX, 4) or inwardly against the device (pl. V, 7) are also met with, though rarely.

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1. E.g. letter *śva* of *Kāleśvara* (pl. XIV, 1), and the letters *Śrī* and *pa* (*JRAS*, 1901, p. 104, no. 9).
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pl. XIX, 60.

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Mostly, the legends end in the genitive and rarely in the nominative.[1] The exceptions are in cases of religious formulae or mottos.[2] In some cases, the legends are also left without case-endings.[3]

Legends are generally one-lined or two-lined. Those of three or more lines are mainly confined to the seals containing epithets of kings (pl. III, 5), genealogies (pls. VI, 1, 2 ; VII, 1) or the sacred formulae (pl. XXII, 1, 3). Private seals, generally, bear the names of the owners alone, and are sometimes coupled with their designation or status. In some cases, the name of the owner of a seal is also mentioned along with that of his father and their relationship, while in a few the name of the individual is also coupled with the territory from which he hailed.[4]

Some linguistic peculiarities of the seal-legends

In certain cases *ś* has been used for *s*. This feature is noticed in some early historic seals[5] and also in some Aśokan epigraphs.[6] Instances of the use of *śa* for *sha*[7] and *sha* for *sa*[8] are also known. Quite interesting are the substitutions of *u* for *ṛi*[9] and *ṇ* for *n*.[10] There are also instances of the use of gluttural nasal for the *anusvāra* in some Gupta seals.[11] The forms *Śrīr-*

1. E.g. *Naṁdaḥ* (*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 151, no. 685) ; *Indradattaḥ* (*ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 80).
2. E.g. *Namastasmai* (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111, nos. 40-41, pl. XLII, 39-40) ; *Vāsudevāya* (*ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 21).
3. E.g. *Āryarakshita* (Bhita, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 93) ; *Dharmadeva* (Bhita, *ibid.*, p. 54, no. 38).
4. These aspects of the seals have been elaborated in Chapter VIII wherein references to these are given. See also our article 'Lineage and Nativity on Personal Seals', *Bull. of Mus. & Arch. in U.P.*, no. 2, pp. 27-29.
5. E.g. *Nigamaśa* (for *Nigamasa*), *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 47, no. 1, pl. XVII, 1 ; *Mamaśa* (*JBORS*, X (iii), p. 190), *Lapagoraśa* (*ibid.*) ; *Abhayavamaśa* (*ibid.*) ; *Devalakhitaśa* (*ibid.*, XX (i), p. 4, no. 5, pl. II, 5). All these have been dated to the Maurya or near about period.
6. See e.g. *śava* for *sava*, *taśa* for *tasa* in Kalsi Version of R. E. XII of Aśoka (*EI*, II, p. 462). See Pandey, R. B., *Aśoka ke Abhilekha*, p. 36.
7. See *Puśyavṛiddhisya* on a Gupta seal from Bhita (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 6, pl. XVII, 6).
8. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 13, *Kālāhirakashya* for *—sya*.
9. See *Rushideva* for *Ṛishideva* on a Basarh seal (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 46).
10. See *Dhaṇasya* for *Dhanasya* on a Basarh seal (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 73). This is reminiscent of the orthography of the literary Prakrits (*ibid.*, p. 103).
11. E.g. *Nāgasiṅha* on a Gupta seal from Basarh (*ibid.*, p. 116, no. 94, pls. XLI, 28 ; XLII, 38). This feature is also to be met with in the Gupta and post-Gupta epigraphs. Bloch rightly points out that a distinct gluttural sound had already been developed between the nasal vowel and the *h*, as in the modern word *Singh* (*ibid.*, p. 103).

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Vishṇudāsasya[1] (instead of *Śrī-Vishṇudāsasya*) and *Śrīr-mahārāja*[2] are quite interesting.

Instances of the doubling of *k*[3] and *t*[4] in conjunction with the following *r*, of *dh*[5] in conjunction with the following *y*, and of *ṇ*,[6] *m*[7] and *v*[8] when in conjunction with the preceding *r* are not infrequently met with on seals of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Duplication of *dh* in *saṁddhi* is rather curious and irregular and is seen in only one instance.[9]

In the Gupta and later seals, sometimes *upadhmānīya* sign has been used while generally it has been left out.[10] Omission of *visarga* is also a feature of some Gupta seals,[11] and rarely the *sandhi*—though grammatically obligatory —is omitted.[12] In some cases, the case-endings are faulty inasmuch as sixth case-endings of the masculine word ending in *a* (*akārānta*) are substituted for words ending in *hal* (*halanta*) or *i* (*ikārānta*).[13]

Mostly, the legends on pre-Gupta seals are either in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit but the Gupta and post-Gupta ones, with the exception of a few irregular formations, are in Sanskrit.

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1. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 98, no. 1. Rapson remarks: 'The nominative of the noun *śrī* governing the genitive of the personal name, instead of the better known compound form *Srī Vishṇudāsaḥ*, is interesting' (*ibid.*, p. 99).
2. *CII*, III, p. 106, pl. XIV.
3. E.g. *atikkrānta* (*MASI*, 66, pp. 67, 68, 70), *chakkra* (*ibid.*, p. 68).
4. E.g. *puttra* (*ibid.*, pp. 65, 66, 67, 68 etc.), *pauttra* (*ibid.*, pp. 65, 66), *kīrttiḥ* (*ibid.*, pp. 67, 70).
5. E.g. *pādānuddhyāta* (*ibid.*, pp. 67, 68).
6. E.g. *Varṇṇāśrama* (*ibid.*, pp. 67, 68).
7. E.g. *Ādityavarmmā*, *Harivarmmā* (*ibid.*, p. 68). See, however, *Īśānavarmā* as an example of single *m* on the same seal (*ibid.*).
8. E.g. *Sarvva* (*ibid.*, pp. 66, 69) ; *pūrvva* (*ibid.*, p. 68).
9. See the legend *Saṁddhiyaśaputrasya* (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 3, pl. XVII, 3).
10. E.g. Nalanda seal of Vishṇugupta (*EI*, XXVI, p. 239). The Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarmā (*CII*, III, p. 220, pl. XXXA) has *upadhmānīya* between *utpanna* and *parama* while in the Nalanda seal of the same ruler there is a *visarga* in the same context (*MASI*, 66, p. 68).
11. E.g. *Saṁddhiyaśaputrasya* (Bhita, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 3) instead of *Saṁddhiyaśaḥ putrasya* ; See also *Mahādevyā—Śrī* (*ibid.*, p. 52, no. 30, pl. XVIII, 30).
12. *Senāpati In.....* (*ibid.*, p. 52, no. 31) ; *kumārāmātya adhikaraṇasya* (Nalanda, *MASI*, 66, p. 51, no. S. 1, 813, 817, 808, 691, etc.).
13. *Nāgaśarmmasya* (Basarh, *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 126, no. 55, pl. L, no. 718) for *Nāgaśarmmaṇaḥ* ; *Prakāśanandisya* (*ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 117, no. 98) ; *Puś(sh)yavṛiddhisya* (Bhita, *ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 6) ; *Mātṛisya* (Sahet-Mahet, *ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 19).

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Grammatically irregular formations which are to be noticed on some seals of the Gupta period—known for an all-round development of Sanskrit literature and its use for official purposes—are rather curious. According to one scholar, these suggest that 'the mixed language of the preceding ages had not quite died away'[1]; in the opinion of another, these 'seem at least indicative of the artificiality of the use of Sanskrit'.[2] Many seals, however, belong to private individuals who might not have been well-versed in grammar and for some of the mistakes the seal-makers might also be responsible.

Interestingly enough, the legends in some cases on seals of certain rulers of the pre-Gupta period are in Sanskrit and those on coins in Prakrit.[3] The obvious explanation is that seals were employed in sealing documents to be dispatched to officials and dignitaries conversant with Sanskrit. Coins, on the other hand, were in circulation amongst persons of all classes and generally the masses were more familiar with Prakrit.

Some palaeographic features

The legends are mostly in the Brāhmī script, Kharoshṭhī being used only in a few specimens from North-Western India to which region it generally remained confined. On certain examples, though very few in number, the legend is inscribed in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī characters.[4] There is the unique example of a bronze signet which bears the same legend in three scripts—Kharoshṭhī, Greek and Brāhmī (pl. I, 4).[5] We also have a few interesting examples of seals containing legends in boustrophedon style, the first

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1. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 103.
2. Spooner, *ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 126.
3. *Vijayamitrasya* on seal (pl. V, 4) and *Vijayamitasa* on coins (*CCAI*, pp. 138-39, pl. XVIII, 4), *Parvatasya* on seal (*JNSI*, XXX, p. 218) and *Pavatasa* on coins (*CCAI*, p. 150, pl. XX, 10).
4. See the seal of Śivarakshita (*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 35, pl. XXIV, 51 ; Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 27).
5. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 809, pl. facing p. 814, no. 20. It bears the legend *Mitraśamaputrasa Baliasa* in Kharoshṭhī, *Mitasamapatasa* in Greek and *Mitraśamapūtrasa Baliasa* in Brāhmī. The omission of the name of the owner in the Greek form was, in all probability, because of the consideration of space ; the Greek form of the patronymic has as many letters as to cover the whole line—the space sufficient for the complete Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī legend. Rapson remarks : 'a similar stage of things is to be found on the coins of Nahapāna and Chashṭana which bear on their obverses a fragmentary and corrupted transliteration in Greek characters of the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends of their reverses' (*JRAS*, 1899, p. 359).

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line written from left to right and the second from right to left.[1]

The evidence of seals clearly supports the view that the scripts should be classified on regional rather than dynastic bases. Practically all the seals found in the Bloch's excavations at Basarh, for instance, show the use of the Eastern variety of Gupta alphabet, as is clear from the test letters *l*[2] *sh*[3] and *h*.[4] Since, according to Bloch, the Western variety of letters at Basarh seems to have been introduced in about the sixth century A. D., in his opinion, A. D. 500 should be taken as *terminus ante quem* for them.[5]

On certain Basarh seals the signs for the vowel *ā* and the right hand part of the dipthongs *o* and *au* very often exhibit a curve or hook attached to the bottom of the letter.[6] An example of a long vowel sign in the shape of a hook added to the initial short *a* to make it initial *ā* is also met with.[7] Quite interesting is the occurrence of both the tripartite and the bipartite forms of the letter *ya* on a specimen from Sahet-Mahet datable to *circa* sixth century A.D.[8]

The characters on the Vākāṭaka seals[9] show South Indian features and are fine examples of the 'box-headed' variety of Central Indian type,[10] so characteristic of the Vākāṭaka epigraphs. Similarly, the Rajim Copper-plate (Raipur District) seal of Rājā Tīvaradeva[11] and the copper-plate seals of the kings of Śarabhapura[12] exhibit typically 'box-headed' characters. The letters on the seal of Majhgawan Copper-plate of Hastin[13]

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1. *JBORS*, XX, pp. 1-2, pl. I, 1, a seal-die the impression of which reads (i) *Budhapu* from right to left and (ii) *tasa* from left to right; *ibid.*, p. 4, no. 5, pl. II, 5, (i) *Devala* from left to right and (ii) *khitaśa* from right to left.
2. See e.g. in *kulika* (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, pl. XLI, 20, 21, 28).
3. E.g. in *rakshati rakshitaḥ* (*ibid.*, pl. XLI, 22); *Vishṇu* (*ibid.*, pl. XL, 3).
4. E.g. *Harisya* (*ibid.*, pl. XLII, 36); *Hariḥ* (*ibid.*, pl. XLII, 37); *sārtthavāha* (*ibid.*, pl. XLII, 45).
5. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 102.
6. E.g. *gā* in *bhāṇḍāgāra* (*ibid.*, 1903-04, pl. XL, 7); *śā* in *Śālibhadra* (*ibid.*, pl. XLII, 34); *go* in *Gomisvāmi* (*ibid.*, pl XLI, 25), *gau* in *Gauridāsa* (*ibid.*, pl. XLI, 28).
7. E.g. *Āmrātakeśvara*, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pl. XL, 2.
8. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 19, no. 5; cf. the two forms of *ma* occurring on one and the same Gupta coin (Altekar, *CGGCBH*, pl. III, 13).
9. *CII*, III, pl. XXXIII, C-D.
10. The type is 'formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them' (*CII*, III, p. 19).
11. *Ibid.*, pl. XLV.
12. These have been discussed in Chapter II.
13. *CII*, III p. 106, pl. XIV.

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belong to the Northern class of alphabet and are of 'nail-headed' type,[1] while those on the Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman[2] and Sonpat seal of Harsha[3] are florid.[4]

Interestingly enough, the letters on the seal of the Gaya Copper-plate of Samudragupta bear characteristic features of his times while the body of the inscription on the plate reveals features of characters of a few centuries later. This difference between the palaeography of letters on the seal and the plate (together with other things) reveals that the seal, which was genuine, was somehow detached from some other plate of Samudragupta and put on the plate, engraved long after his rule.[5]

A few sealings of Indian origin from Oc-éo (discussed below) bearing legends variously as *dātavyaṁ bhaktavyaṁ* and *yashṭavyaṁ* exhibit both the South and North Indian forms of letters.[6] It has been suggested that they belong to a region where both types of forms were used and, for this very reason, have been ascribed to Gujarat.[7] If this inference be correct, it would contribute much to the solution of a great controversial problem regarding the region from which the majority of Indians migrated to South-East Asia.

Emblems

The emblems, in most cases, were indicative of the religious leanings of the owner. Thus, the bull, which is represented on quite a large number of seals, may suggest Śaiva leanings of the owner. Sometimes the device also indicates the refined and artistic disposition of the owner.[8] In some cases, there is a characteristic connection between the legend and the device. Nothing could be a more appropriate device on *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sealings than the coffin between the two *śāla* trees,[9] on *Saddharmachakra* (Sarnath) sealings the *dharmachakra* flanked by two deer[10] and on those of the 'guild-corporation' a money-

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1. I.e. the type "in which the tops of the letters, instead of being 'box-headed' or square, are 'nail-headed' or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards" (*CII*, III, p. 19).
2. *CII*, III, pl. XXXA,
3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIIB.
4. See specially the medial *i*, *ī* and subscript *ya* and *ra*.
5. See *CII*, III, p. 255.
6. See Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228.
7. See *CII*, III, p. 229.
8. See specially pl. XXX, 4.
9. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 71, no. 2.
10. Sahni, *Cat. of the Mus. of Arch. at Sarnath*, pp. 307-08.

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chest (pl. XXV, 2, 5). Similar relationship may also be explained because of the predilection of an individual in choosing a symbol appropriate to his name.[1] The device would thus suggest the same idea that was intended to be conveyed by the legend. A bull was chosen by Gopa[2] and Gopasena[3] and Nandī—the *vāhana* of Śiva—by Dhruvanandī[4] and Vishṇunandī.[5] One Rudraśarmā adopted a *triśūla*, the weapon *par excellence* of Śiva,[6] while Kṛishṇadatta chose *chakra*,[7] the favourite weapon of Vishṇu. Hariśarmā showed his preference for a *śaṅkha*,[8] an important attribute of Vishṇu, while one Dharma preferred the *dharmachakra* symbol.[9]

Use of seals

Two main types of seal-impressions are met with, those which were attached to parcels and letters and those used otherwise. The former show string-marks at their backs while the latter are devoid of them, and are either plain or bear the impress of fingers which held the token (pl. XV, 5), the lines and the minute graining of a hand[10] or mat-impressions (pl. XXXIII, 10) as they were kept on the mat for drying while still wet. The former is generally unbaked and, at times, partly baked, while the latter is often kiln-baked and hence has become red. Further, the tokens are, at times, impressed on both sides with different dies. Sometimes there is only one impression on each side but, at others, one of the sides bears more impressions than one. These tokens were used either as passports which enabled people to come to or go from a particular place or as votive-offerings, as mementos, or as letters of introduction carried by a courier in order to prove his *bona fides* as

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1. The symbol may not necessarily be indicative of the religious leanings of the owner. For refutation of the theory that the symbols on Pañchāla coins represent religious leanings of the rulers and assertion of the view that they were chosen because of their relation to the name of the ruler, see *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 149-51.
2. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 108, no. 14.
3. Rajghat sealing, see *DHI*, p. 189.
4. Deva and Mishra, *Vaiśāli Excavations*, p. 96, pl. XIX B, 4.
5. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations, (1951-53)*, p. 104, no. 13, pl. XXXII, 7. The same legend occurs on a Rajghat sealing in the Allahabad Museum (no. 192).
6. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 103-04, no. 5.
7. A recently purchased unnumbered Lucknow Museum seal from Sunet.
8. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 104, no. 5.
9. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 105, no. 23, pl. XXXIV A, 1. The possibility of *Dharma* standing for religion cannot be ruled out.
10. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 103, no. 5.

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also the genuineness of the letter he carried. A large number of *Nālandā-mahāvihāra* seal-impressions, being devoid of string-marks, were, perhaps, meant for this purpose.[1] Some such tokens have holes and they might very well have been suspended to the string binding documents.[2] Jayaswal refers to a fragmentary steatite mould with the device of a bird (peacock or garuḍa) and the moon-on-hill symbol. This mould, in his opinion, was, in all probability, used for casting *mudrās* to be used as passports.[3]

Method of application

One would have been in a better position to study the method of the application of seals if they were found fixed to the objects they sealed. Unfortunately, in India, none belonging to the period under review has been found as such. Consequently, one has to depend mainly on the evidence supplied by their counterparts elsewhere,[4] the presence or absence of string-marks on their reverse and stray literary references.[5]

Although no specimen of seal-impression in ink of the past has as yet come to light, literature bears testimony to their use. Witness, for example, the evidence of the *Mudrārākshasa*: "By now, since Kusumapura is near, none who is not imprinted with stamp (*mudrā*) is allowed to leave or enter the camp. So if you are imprinted with the seal of Bhāgurāyaṇa you may safely go, otherwise stay".[6] It has been inferred from this passage that the clothes were imprinted.[7] However, the possibility of the imprint being made on the body of the person by some indelible material, as practised in the present-day voting system, cannot be ruled out.

All seal-impressions within our perview are on clay[8] and very few of a

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 27.
2. See *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 45, nos. 42, 43, 90 and 98. In such cases the ends of the strings would have been secured by another seal.
3. *JBORS*, XX, p. 2, no. 2. Jayaswal ascribes it to the Maurya period. He takes the 'moon-on-hill' symbol to be the Mauryan monogram.
4. E.g. at Niya, *vide* Stein, *Serindia*, I, pp. 227 ff.
5. See Appendix 'Seals in Ancient Indian Literature'.
6. *Mudrārākshasa* (ed. by K. H. Dhruva, 3rd ed.), Act V, p. 64: *idānīmitaḥ pratyāsanne Kusumapure na kopyamudrālāñchhito nirgantuṁ praveshṭuṁ vānumodyate. Tasmādyadā Bhāgurāyaṇasya mudrayā lāñchhito'si tato gachchhaviśrabdhaḥ anyathā tishṭha....*
7. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 219.
8. Cf. *Harshacharita* (*uchchhvāsa* VII, p. 53, para 2) where a reference is made to stamping on a clay lump (*samupasthāpite cha prathamata eva mṛitapiṇḍe paribhraśya mahītale papātmudrā.*

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slightly later period, have been found on lac.[1] The clay used for sealing purposes must have been specially treated and, if necessary, mixed with other ingredients to form a sticky paste which might not disintegrate after drying. Impressions on copper and bronze have been found generally in the case of copper-plates intended to be permanent records.[2] Mostly, clay sealings were attached to letters and documents with a view to holding together the string or tape tied round the object once or twice,[3] as is the case with the present-day lac or wax seals. The ends of the string, after passing it around the object, were drawn in (between the string and the tablet) and the seal was so placed as to cover the ends[4] (pl. I, 6, 7).

Some seals have one or more holes running horizontally through them, indicating that, on occasions, the string was first wrapped round the article and then over a layer of clay; a second layer of clay was laid over it to receive the impression. The string inevitably decayed or was removed while unpacking, leaving the hole in the sealing.[5] Wooden boards generally served the purpose of writing pads[6] or else the message was written on some such material as birch-bark or palm-leaf and the boards were then used as envelopes.[7]

From a study of Besnagar seals, D. R. Bhandarkar deduced certain important conclusions regarding the method of application of seals.[8]

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1. *ASR*, III, p. 158, pl XLVI, 2-3. Hiuen-tsang, however, refers to Harsha's letters sealed with impressions made on red wax (Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, pp. 189-90). From Central Asia comes an example of seal-stamp on silk (Stein, *Serindia*, II, p. 983).
2. According to Fleet, most of the seals attached to the copper-plate records are of bronze rather than of copper (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, II, p. 26).
3. This is clear from the single or double string-marks on the back of the sealings.
4. Bloch thought that the grooves at the backs of many Basarh sealings were caused by the blade of a knife used for holding tight the ends of string round a package when it was sealed and that the thin cross-marks resulted from the use of the blunt edge of the knife (*ASIAR*, 1903-4, p. 101). Sastri, likewise, thought that these grooves on some of the Kasia seals resulted from the use of some object of metal (*ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 81). Marshall, however, correctly pointed out that the broad groove at the back was caused by the rounded surface of the article and not by the blade of knife and that the thin cross-marks did not result from the use of the blunt edge of knife, but were caused by the strings themselves (*ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 45-46).
5. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 46; cf. also *JUPHS*, XXI, p. 116; *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 80.
6. No such tablets have survived in India. But Stein found a good number of them at Niya (*Serindia*, I, pp. 224 ff.). The longitudinal grain of the edges of the boards impressed on the sealings clearly indicates that the Indian tablets, likewise, were of wood.
7. Such envelopes have been referred to in literary texts as *kāchanakī* or *kāchanaka*. See the various texts quoted by Dr. Pathak in *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 219-20.
8. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pp. 80-81, pl. LII, 19-22 and 24.

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These were generally applied to the edges of two tablets placed flat one upon the other and thus forming a pair. This left a well-defined mark at the meeting-joint, running longitudinally about the centre of the sealing. In such cases where the string-marks are visible across the marks of wooden tablets, seals must have been affixed to the strings tied to the tablets. In a few cases, however, a seal was fixed directly on the tablets without any string tied beneath. But even in the latter case, the tablets must have been secured by strings. The very fact that the sealing was put on the edge of the tablets made it impossible for anybody to tamper with them and read the message. If the message could not be accommodated within two boards, a third was inserted between the two.[1] From a seal which was applied to the edge of a single tablet, it is clear that the seal, in that case, merely served the purpose of authentication.[2]

In some cases, the palm-leaf document was folded and the folds were tied with a string, generally of the same material. The ends of the string were brought together and were covered by, and sometimes inserted into, a lump of moist clay which received the impression from a seal-die. An excellent and well-preserved example of this type, though of a later date and showing the seal still intact, may be seen in the Bharat Kala Bhavan.[3]

Besides being fastened to letters or other documents, seals were also affixed to certain testimonials (*praśaṁsā-* or *pramāṇa-patras*) issued by educational centres like Nalanda.[4]

After receiving the impression, the wet clay on the package was allowed to dry mostly in the sun[5] but rarely also by exposing it to fire from a distance. Those which were sunburnt show a darkish or yellowish tinge; those exposed to the heat of fire turned light yellow in colour.[6] It is also likely that in some

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1. This is inferred from the fact that marks on a Besnagar sealing (no. 4) showed that the two tablets to which it was applied were not in immediate contact, but separated by 1/8″ of space (*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 80, pl. LII, 21). It is, however, possible that in this case the message was written on birch-bark or palm-leaf and the wooden boards served the purpose of an envelope.
2. This whole paragraph is based on Bhandarkar's findings (*ASIAR*, 1914-15, pp. 80-81).
3. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 220 and pl. VIII, 4-5.
4. *MASI*, 66, p. 27.
5. Bloch remarks about Basarh sealings : 'As the majority consisted of pieces of unbaked clay, it is clear that it was considered sufficient to allow the seal to dry during the transit of the letter' (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 101).
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 101 ; *ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 45 ; *MASI*, 66, p. 28. Cf. also *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 218 wherein an example of a clay sealing partly baked on one side is given ; this could obviously be the result of controlled heating. According to R. D. Banerji, the

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cases the seal-die was heated and applied red-hot on the moist clay rendering the surface of the sealing as semi-baked.

The tape that tied the document or parcel would have been of cotton or hemp.[1] The marks on the Besnagar sealings indicate that untwisted string fibre, corresponding to hemp, was used.[2] It may be recalled that in Central Asia, where sealings have been found attached to documents, leather strips were used for tapes.[3] Some seals from Nalanda show grooves equal to the *tāḍi* leaf, which obviously served as strings.[4]

The issue of copper-plate charters was much in vogue in the Gupta and the post-Gupta times.[5] These charters were marked with the seals of kings or government offices.[6] In the case of a single plate the seal was welded with or fastened to the plate itself either at its left side[7] or before the commencement of the inscription or at the top. A knob or knobs were provided on the

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fired sealings prove that in a majority of cases the binding material of Indian envelope was something that did not burn when clay seals were fired (*AIG*, p. 87). The seals, however, were kept not in the fire but near it, and if there be any case of a well-baked seal-impression with indication of its use as seal, the explanation would be, as Mackay suggested in the case of similar Harappan sealings, that the "matting coverings of the bales on which these sealings seem once to have been impressed were eventually disposed of by burning, when the sealings would have dropped". (*Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 349). The report of the chemical examination of certain Kasia sealings by Hankin runs as below :

"The impressions at the back of the mass of clay contain vegetable remnants, which are not charred, proving that the clay mass has been dried but not burnt...." (*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 58).

1. *El*, XXI, p. 77.
2. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 80.
3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, II, p. 34.
4. *MASI*, 66, p. 72. The description of the *lekhahāraka* in the *Harshacharita* (*uchchhvāsa* VII, pp. 23-24) shows the use of thick strings for tying the bundles of letters (*atinibiḍa-sūtrabandhanimnitāntarāla-kṛitavyavachchhedayā lekhamālikayā parikalitamūrdhānaṁ lekhahārakam....*).
5. So much so that a poet of later date ascribes the scarcity of copper in king Bhoja's reign to the issue of copper-plate grants (*tāmra-śāsanapatras*). See *Bhojaprabandha*, verse 162.
6. The documents written on palm-leaf or cloth bore the signature of the king. But the copper-plates which were copies of the documents from those substances bore seal-impression of the king rather than his signature. In certain cases the local administration issued charters with its own seals (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 363, fn. 5).
7. See *CII*, III, p. 255, pl. XXXVII.

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back of seals passing through a hole or holes in the plate. Some such seals, in course of time, got separated from the plates.[1]

When more than one copper-plate was used for a single record,[2] they were strung together by one or more copper-rings passing through the holes bored in the plates on the left or the top margin. In such cases, the seal was attached to a single ring if there was only one ring and to one of the rings when there were more than one. The ends were secured by soldering under a lump of metal and the seal was cast over its flattened upper surface. The device and legend came out in relief on the countersunk surface of the seal. In shape, these rings look like exaggerated signet-rings though, unlike them, they are impressions and not dies. The seal served not only as a mark of authentication but also as a safeguard, for the compact parts of the record could not be separated unless the rings were severed and the seal tampered with. Any tampering with the seal or the ring would render the grant null and void.

The Rohtasgarh seal-matrix[3] of Śaśāṅka has the legend (in reverse) and the bull carved out on rock. Either some soft molten material was poured into it or else clay-impressions were taken from it. These impressions, however, could not serve the purpose of sealing the documents.

The impression on the glass tablet from Maheshwar must have been made while it was still hot and in a semi-molten condition so that it left a raised border on its two sides.[4] The four glass seals described by Jayaswal with legends in the positive—not reversed—and plain back were, in all probability, moulds for preparing matrices in clay.[5]

Jayaswal refers to an iron handle from Nalanda bearing the *svastika* and the letters read by him as *Jaya* in Brāhmī characters of *circa* A. D. 200.[6] He thinks that it was used for branding cattle. He also refers to another seal with the legend *Budhaḥ* in the Gupta characters, used for a similar purpose.[7] If

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1. E.g. Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta (II or III) (*JASB*, LIII, p. 85) ; Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman (*CII*, III, p. 220) ; Sonpat seal of Harsha (*ibid.*, p. 231).
2. Normally, in the period under review the number of such plates is not many. In the later period, there is an example of as many as 55 large plates (*vide* Chhabra, *Diplomatic of Sanskrit Copper-Plate Grants*, p. 4).
3. *CII*, III, p. 283.
4. *JNSI*, XV, p. 201.
5. *JBORS*, X, p. 191. Since they are cast, they incidentally throw light on the development of glass industry as well.
6. *JBORS*, XXIII, p. 128.
7. *Ibid.*

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Jayaswal be right in his interpretation, the use of seals for branding purposes might also have been in vogue.

Find-spots and places of origin

Certain other problems relating to seals and sealings may now be discussed. It is generally expected that the find-spot of a seal would indicate the place where its owner lived, and the find-spot of the sealing, the place to which a letter or a parcel was sent. But sometimes, seals, small as they are, might, like coins, be transported to far-off places. They could also be brought in use for sealing the title-deeds or contracts which were preserved in record offices for future references. In such cases, the sealings could be found at the place of their origin. At times, large numbers of seal-impressions were kept ready either to be sent with (but not affixed to) the letters as proof of the *bona fides* of the carrier,[1] or to be distributed as mementos.

The double copper seal from Rajghat

A copper seal from Rajghat bearing a legend (in reverse characters) and device on both sides has been recently published.[2] On one side is a *śaṅkha* and the legend *Pushyachandrakasya* and, on the other, a *chakra* and the legend *Haravarmasya*.[3] Both legends, on palaeographic grounds, have been assigned to *circa* sixth or seventh century A. D. It has been suggested that 'the *chakra* seal' showing the device less clearly 'was rejected' and the piece was later used by another individual, Pushyachandraka.[4] However, it is likely that the obverse and the reverse devices were prepared simultaneously and belonged to two persons of one family or firm. Perhaps copper would not have been so costly a metal as to necessitate the use of a blank side of an earlier seal of some one. Moreover, restriking at a later stage would necessitate considerable heating of copper and, at that stage, restriking for a second device would have affected the previous device and legend considerably.

Multiple seal-impressions

Quite often several impressions are found on a single lump. Plenty of

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1. The *Nālandā-mahāvihāra, Saddharmachakra-vihāra* (Sarnath) and *Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāra* (Kasia) sealings, for examples, have been found at the places of their origin.
2. Chhabra, *JIH*, XLVI(i), pp. 35-37 and pl. facing p. 36.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 36. The possibility of reading *Pauravasya* instead of *Haravarmasya* has also been suggested (*ibid.*).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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Nalanda clay-lumps bearing more than one impress have the combination of *Nālandā-mahāvihāra* seal and that of a village, district or some other office, the latter generally bearing some Brahmanical device.[1] According to J. N. Banerjea, the occurrence of the Buddhist and Brahmanical impresses together was the result of testing such seals on the same lump.[2]

It is, however, difficult to believe that seal-makers always tested a seal of the Buddhist *Mahāvihāra* and that of a village office with some Brahmanical device together and *not* two Buddhist *vihāra* seals. Moreover, some of these lumps bear string-marks on the back[3] suggesting that these were used for sealing purposes. Obviously, this indicates some contract between the Buddhist *Mahāvihāra* and the village or district administration. Revenues from hundreds of villages were assigned to that Buddhist monastery and, as such, there must have been frequent transactions between these and the *Mahāvihāra*. Sometimes the district offices may also have been involved on administrative grounds.

The *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* seals also contain several impressions giving names of certain individuals.[4] These, in all probability, were made because of some legal necessity—the owners of these seals being either parties or witnesses to some contract. However, in cases where a single seal is impressed several times on a lump of clay and the lump does not bear any string-marks,[5] it is possible to suggest that it might have been a result of testing.

Certain tablets, like coins, have very nicely made impressions on both sides. It appears that a wet lump was sandwiched between two dies and then dried.[6] Some Rajghat tokens bear a single impression on one side and several neat and clear designs in different compartments on the other. Obviously, the reverse designs were either made from a single die or wet clay was kept in a mould which imparted the impression or impressions on one side while the other side was struck by a die or dies.

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1. *MASI*, 66, pp. 4ff.
2. *DHI*, p. 185.
3. No. SIR, 673 in the Nalanda Museum, for example, has as many as seven impressions and also the string-marks at the back.
4. See *infra*, Chap. V.
5. E.g. no 17A, 1936-37 (old no. 36, 3704) in the Nalanda Museum has no less than ten identical impressions showing a tree and a legend ending in. . . .*masya* and has no string-marks at the back.
6. Striking various neat impressions one after the other would not have been possible as the earlier ones were liable to be spoiled while striking the later ones.

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CHAPTER II

TRIBAL AND MONARCHICAL STATES

It would be too much to expect from the glyptics, solely by themselves, to furnish a complete and connected account of political history, nevertheless, bits of information acquired from them provide significant links in its reconstruction. They not only refer to names of individual rulers but also furnish genealogical data about certain dynasties. If they have sometimes solved political puzzles, they have, at others, also created new ones and complicated the information derived from other sources.[1]

TRIBAL STATES

The glyptics attest to the existence of both monarchical and non-monarchical states in ancient India and furnish evidence regarding their political set-up as well as administrative institutions. The non-monarchical states of which the seals mention only two—the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas—may be taken up first.

The Mālavas

A lead seal (no. 1544) from Rairh (Rajasthan) bears, in Brāhmī characters of *circa* second century B. C., a two-lined legend: (1) *(Mā)lava ja* (2) *napada(sa)*.[2] Seal nos. R 177, 838 and 3942 and an unnumbered seal matrice from the same site bear the legend *ma sa*[3] while no. 3096 has *ma da*.[4] The letter *ma*, in the present context, may have been an abbreviation of the word *Mālava*; as such, *ma da* and *ma sa* may stand for *Mālava-janapada* and *Mālava-janapadasa* respectively, though it is open to other interpretations as well.[5]

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1. The evidence of Nalanda seals of the Imperial Gupta kings, for example, has created problems regarding the chronology of the later Imperial Guptas.
2. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 54 and 71, pl. XXVI, 22; Dikshit, *JNSI*, III, p. 49, pl. IV, 6; Agrawala, R. C., *ibid.*, XXIV, p. 193.
3. *JNSI*, III, p. 50.
4. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 194.
5. It has also been suggested that these letters stand for the names of Mālava chiefs (Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 54). Prof. Bajpai takes these to 'denote some Śaka chiefs' and suggests that the Śakas possibly occupied the Malwa region much before the time of Kshaharāta Nahapāna (*Bull. of An. Ind. Hist. & Arch.*, I, p. 10).

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The *vārttika* on V.3.117 of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini refers to the *āyudhajīvi-saṅghas* and, according to the *Mahābhāshya,* the Mālavas were one of them. The *vārttika* on IV.2.45 of the same also mentions the *Mālavas* and the Kshudrakas as martial tribes. The former is also identified with the 'Malloi' of the Greek historians writing about the campaigns of Alexander the Great in the Punjab.[1] Their coins date from *circa* first century B. C. to *circa* third or early fourth century A. D. and are mostly found in areas around Nagar (Rajasthan). Generally, they bear the eulogistic legend 'victory to the *Mālavagaṇa*'.[2] They also seem to have been referred to as *Mālayas* in a Nasik inscription wherein they are stated to have been subdued by the Śaka Satrap, Ushavadāta.[3] Several epigraphs associate an era, popularly known as the Vikrama era, with the *Mālavagaṇa.*[4] A prominent mention of the Mālavas who had a republican form of government is made in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta which refers to them as owing allegiance to that mighty emperor.

According to available epigraphic and numismatic data the Mālavas formed a *gaṇa.* The seal under review testifies to their character as a *janapada.*[5] Both these terms are liable to be interpreted differently but they imply that the Mālavas had a non-monarchical form of political organisation.

The Yaudheyas

A clay sealing of the Yaudheyas bearing the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ jaya-mantradharāṇāṁ* (of the Yaudheyas, the possessors of the secret charm of winning victories),[6] has been found at Sunet near Ludhiana,[7] a place which

1. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great,* pp. 115, 137, etc. Their territory, on the basis of the accounts of the Greek historians, ran below the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenab and extended towards the Ravi (*Compr. Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 257).
2. *CCAI,* pp. civ-cviii. According to Dr. Chattopadhyaya, the absence of their coins before the Christian era suggests that they were subservient to king Sarvatāta of the Ghosundi Inscription (*EHNI,* p. 50).
3. *EI,* VIII, pp. 78 and 79.
4. See, e.g. *CII,* III, pp. 83 (l. 19), 154 (l. 21), etc.
5. Cf. *Śibi-janapada* and *Rājanya-janapada.* From very early times 'the word *Janapada* has been used to denote a particular people or territory in ancient India' (*EHD,* pts. i-vi, p. 44).
6. Hoernle, '(the votive tablet) of the Yaudheyas who know how to devise victory' (*PASB,* 1884, p. 139) ; Allan, '(seal) of the Yaudheya councillors of victory' (*CCAI,* p. clii). According to Jayaswal, *mantradharas* were those vested with the policy of state (*Hindu Polity,* p. 145). Shri Jai Prakash takes *mantra* in the sense of secret deliberations between kings and ministers, on the testimony of some ancient authorities (*JNSI,* XXVII, pp. 137-38).
7. *PASB,* 1884, p. 139. It has the device of a humped bull moving to right.

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has also yielded several coins and coin-moulds of that tribe.

The Yaudheya coins refer to the *Yaudheyagaṇa*, but a seal in the collection of Gurukul Jajjhar (Rohtak District), refers to the *Yaudheya janapada*. Its four-lined legend has been read as :

1. *R(ai)pati*
2. *Yaudheya jana(pa)*
3. *da prakṛitānāka*
4. *nagara*[1]

It has been taken as a seal of a fort named Raipati of the Yaudheya *janapada* which was like heaven (*nāka*) as a result of the exertion of the people.[2] What has been taken as *yūpa* in railing[3] looks like the letter *vī* and it is tempting to read the first line as *Vīrapati*.

The legend on another sealing in the same collection has been read as *bhattinikāya*[4] and equated with Sanskrit *bhaṭṭinikāya*, meaning a group of soldiers or *bhrātṛinikāya*, 'group of brethren' and either way taken as connected with the Yaudheyas—referring to their army[5] or the whole Yaudheya fraternity.[6] It may, however, be mentioned that there was a Bhaṭṭi clan in Western India in ancient times[7] and it is not unlikely that the present sealing has a reference to it.

The *Ashṭādhyāyī* (IV.1.178 and V.3.117) also refers to the Yaudheya tribe and the *vārttika* on V.3.117 includes them in the list of the 'tribes living on arms'.[8] The Yaudheyas worshipped Kārttikeya, the general of gods, whose name and figure occur on some of their coins.[9]

The find-spots of Yaudheya coins,[10] ranging from *circa* first century B. C. to third or early fourth century A. D., suggest that their territory roughly

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1. Bhagavandeva Acharya, *Vīrabhūmi Harayāṇā*, pp. 147-51, pl. III.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 150. Another possibility, though remote, is that the first line is to be taken as standing for Rapti, the name being after the river.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 151 ff. The illustration (*ibid.*, pl. IV) shows the second letter as *tī*.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
7. Cf. *Classical Age*, p. 154.
8. Non-mention of this tribe by the Greek historians writing about Alexander's campaign suggests that they did not come in conflict with the invader's forces. (See *Compr. Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 125).
9. Allan, *CCAI*, p. cxlix ; Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 141-42.
10. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 165 ; Allan, *CCAI*, p. clii. For date, see also Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 12, 14-15.

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extended from Saharanpur district in the east to Bahawalpur in the west and Ludhiana in the north-west to Delhi in the south-east. Rudradāman's Junagarh inscription,[1] testifying to the valour of the Yaudheyas and also their defeat at his hands,[2] conveys the impression that their territories extended upto Western Rajputana in the second century A.D. This is corroborated by the Vijayagadh inscription referring to a *mahārāja—mahāsenāpati* who had been raised to the status of a leader by the *Yaudheyagaṇa*.[3] The Yaudheyas seem to have recovered from their defeat at the hands of Rudradāman but later owed allegiance to Samudragupta.[4]

MONARCHS AND PETTY RULERS

Seals of individual rulers, which are far more numerous, bristle with difficulties in so far as their identification is concerned. Sometimes, the name is not known from any other source; at others, it is mentioned either in numismatic or epigraphic records and one is faced with the problem of correlating the two and, quite often, opinions differ in this respect. The affinities of provenance, devices, name-endings or palaeography and other characteristic features are of some help in ascribing the king concerned to a particular dynasty or region, but even these may sometimes be lacking and, in the absence of any royal title, it is at times debatable whether the owner of the seal was a king or a commoner; hence some of the identifications proposed or rejected in the following pages should, at best, be regarded as tentative.

No seals belonging to kings of the Maurya dynasty have so far come to our notice. We, however, get seals of rulers from *circa* second century B. C. onwards, from various regions, belonging to different dynasties—indigenous or foreign. In discussing the seals of rulers, for convenience, the chronological order has not been strictly followed and those containing genealogical tables or belonging to particular dynasties or regions have been dealt with together as it was felt that their proper import would be better understood in those contexts.

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1. *EI*, VIII, pp. 36 ff.
2. Cf. *sarvva kshatrāvishkṛita vīraśabda jātotsekāvidheyānāṁ Yaudheyānāṁ prasahyotsādakena* (*EI*, VIII, p. 44, lines 11-12).
3. *CII*, III, no. 58, pp. 251-52.
4. *Ibid.*, III, no. 1, pp. 8, ll, 22-23. Dr. Thakur, however, holds that the Yaudheyas, together with the Mālavas were wiped off the map of republican India by the Hūṇa avalanche (*Hūṇas in India*, p. 112).

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Kauśāmbī Rulers

1. Agnimitra

A sealing found in the excavations conducted at Vaiśālī[1] and broken in the upper left portion bears, in *circa* first century B. C. characters, the Brāhmī legend :[2]

1. ..*Agimita*
2. ..*miyaye*
3. *koṭha(ṭa) kārasa*[3]
4. *viṭhi (vithi)*[4]

It has two symbols, 'tree within railing' and the 'Ujjain symbol' (pl. II, 5). Dr. Roy restores the missing portion of the legend as *rāño*[5] and *sa ma*[6] in lines 1 and 2 respectively and translates the whole as "(the seal) of the market or shop (owned by) the fort commander or the store-keeper who was a relation through the maternal uncle of king Agnimitra."[7]

It is difficult to be certain about the interpretation of the legend. Quite likely, the sealing belonged to a *vīthi*, an administrative division. Many rulers bearing the name Agnimitra are known to us.[8] Dr. Roy identifies him with the homonymous Śuṅga king. The symbols on the sealing are, however, similar to those on the coins of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī[9] (*circa* first century B. C. or the beginning of the first century A. D.) and favour the identification of Agnimitra of the sealing with that Kauśāmbī ruler. Prof.

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1. No. 1000G in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar Govt., Patna. See *IAR, 1958-59*, p. 12, pl. IXA ; Roy, *JBRS*, XLV, pp. 313-17, pl. facing p. 314 ; Bajpai, *JUPHS (NS)*, IX. pp. 87-89.
2. As given in *JBRS*, XLV, p. 314.
3. Prof. Bajpai reads *Koṭha kirasa* (*JUPHS (NS)*, IX p. 87).
4. According to Prof. Bajpai, what is read as *viṭhi* seems to be the 'remnant of a symbol, probably a *nandipada*, having the circle placed in front of the inverted two-arched hill' (*ibid.*, p. 87).
5. *JBRS*, XLV, p. 314. He, however, does not rule out the possibility of *siri*.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. (i) The second Śuṅga ruler known from literature (*Mālavikāgnimitram*); (ii) a Pañchāla ruler known from coins (*CCAI*, pp. cxvii, and 199-201, pl. XXVIII, 8-14) ; (iii) ruler of Kauśāmbī known from coins (*CCAI*, pp. xcvi, and 153, pl. XX); (iv) a ruler known from a brick inscription in the Allahabad Museum (*JUPHS (NS)*, IX, p. 88); cf. also Indrāgnimitra known from a Bodhgaya railing inscription (Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, II, pp. 67-69).
9. The coins of Agnimitra bear the tree-in-railing symbol (*CCAI*, pl. XX, 5) and not the one drawn by Allan (*ibid.*, p. 153).

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Bajpai refers to a brick acquired from Kauśāmbī bearing the legend—*Udapāno kārito raño Agamitasa* and identifies the ruler with Agnimitra of the coins from the same site.[1]

2. Parvata

A Kauśāmbī sealing in the Allahabad Museum bears a legend read as *Rājño Parvatasya* with the device of a 'pole topped with a lion on the extreme left and a three-arched hill below the legend'.[2] A King Parvata is known from coins; the legends on the seal and the coins are, however, not identical.[3]

3. Pravataka

Another sealing from Rajghat bears the device of a bull and the legend *Pravatakasya*[4] in *circa* second century A. D. characters (pl. IV, 5). It is difficult to ascertain whether Pravataka belonged to the same family to which Parvata belonged.

4. Jyeshṭhamitra

A sealing from Rajghat bears the figure of a bull to left with a vase-and-foliage on either side and the legend *Jeshṭhamitrasya* in characters of *circa* second century A. D., below (pl. V, 1). A homonymous king is known from Kauśāmbī coins.[5] The devices on the sealing and the coins are, however, not identical.[6]

5. Aśvaghosha

A Rajghat sealing[7] shows a roaring lion seated to the left in the lower field and the legend *Aśvaghoshasya* in *circa* first century A. D. characters. There are traces of another letter, possibly *jña* before the letter *a* (pl. IV, 7), indicating that the legend started with *rājño*. On another sealing,[8] from the

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1. *JUPHS (NS)*, IX, p. 88.
2. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 218-19, pl. XI, 11. The photograph does not show the legend and device clearly and the exact date cannot be ascertained.
3. Allan, *CCAI*, p. 150, pl. XX ; Smith, *CCIM*, p. 155, pl. XX, 4. The legend, in Prakrit, reads *Pavatasa*.
4. The vertical stroke of *va* is not clear and the possibility of reading it as *thi* cannot be ruled out. The name Pravataka is rather curious, though *Pravat* has been used for Agni (See M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s. v. Pravat*).
5. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. xcvi and 154, pl. XX, 9.
6. It may also be noted that the legend on the sealing is in faulty Sanskrit while on the coins it is in Prakrit.
7. Allahabad Museum, no. 54.
8. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6326.

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same site, the lion is not shown roaring and there are no visible traces of any letter before *a* of *Aśvaghoshasya* (pl. IV, 8). Both sealings seem to have belonged to the same dynasty and, not unlikely, to the same ruler.

If Aśvaghosha of our two sealings be identical with the ruler of a short inscription on the Aśokan pillar at Sarnath[1] and that of Kauśāmbī coins,[2] then he might have ruled over regions extending from Kauśāmbī to Varanasi.

6. Abhaya

A Rajghat sealing[3] shows a bull, standing left, with a three-arched hill in front. Behind the bull is a spear and, above, a *chakra*. In between the *chakra* and spear is a *śaṅkha*. The two-lined legend, in the upper margin in *circa* second or third century A. D. characters, reads (1) *Rājño Abhaya* (2) *sya* (pl. II, 4). A similar sealing from the same site is housed in the Allahabad Museum.[4]

Another sealing of the same ruler unearthed recently at the same site[5] has the same symbols (though depicted somewhat differently) but the legend occurs at the bottom and reads *Rājñobhaya(sya)* (pl. II, 6) instead of *Rājño Abhayasya*, as on sealings described above. If these belong to one and the same king, it may be suggested that uniformity of the legend was not invariably maintained even on royal seals. The bull and hill symbols, which also occur on Kauśāmbī coins,[6] suggest that the person was a ruler of Kauśāmbī.[7]

7. Dhanadeva

Numerous clay sealings from Rajghat, now in different museums and collections,[8] bear the device of a bull standing to the left with a *yūpa* in

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1. *EI*, VIII, p. 171 ; also Bhattacharya, *History of Sarnath or the Cradle of Buddhism*, p. 161. There is still another inscription of the King from the same site (*ibid.*, p. 162).
2. *CCAI*, p. 150, pl. XX, 6 ; *ASR*, X, 4 ; *JNSI*, IV, p. 14. The last-mentioned one has a lion figure which makes the identification more probable. Even the animal figure on *CCAI*, pl. XX, 6 does not look like a bull and may be that of a lion.
3. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6331.
4. Allahabad Museum, no. 191.
5. Deptt. of A.I.H., C. & Arch., B.H.U., no. 410.
6. *CCAI*, pp. 148 ff., pl. XX.
7. Cf. also Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 68.
8. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi ; Allahabad Museum ; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; Patna Museum ; Indian Museum, Calcutta ; Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta ; Antiquity section of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi ; Banda Museum ; Deptt. of A.I.H., C. & Archaeology, B.H.U.

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front and a spear to its back. Above these occurs the legend *Dhanadevasya* and below *rājño* in *circa* second century A. D. characters. Beneath the head of the bull is a three-arched hill symbol and a *chakra* above its hind part (pl. II, 3).[1] A Dhanadeva is known from the coins of Ayodhya series[2] and another from the Kauśāmbī ones.[3] The legend on the coins of Dhanadeva of Ayodhya ends in Prakrit genitive *sa* while that on the homonymous Kauśāmbī ruler in Sanskrit genitive *sya*. Bull is the common obverse device in both cases but the Kauśāmbī coins have an additional symbol of a three-arched hill, which is notably absent in the Ayodhya ones. Moreover, the coins of Kauśāmbī sometimes bear the title *rājā* (*rājño*) which also is the case in our sealing. Dhanadeva of the sealing should, therefore, be identified with the homonymous ruler of Kauśāmbī.[4]

Yet another sealing from Rajghat (pl. II, 2) with the device of a bull flanked by a vase on the left and *paraśu* on the right may be noted here. The legend *Dhanadevasa* occurs in characters slightly earlier than on those described above. Owing to the difference of the devices, it is difficult to ascertain whether the author of this sealing and the one referred to above belonged to the same dynasty. The hold of the Kushāṇas after Kanishka seems to have become loose in this region. The Kauśāmbī rulers issued their own coinage and may or may not have owed nominal allegiance to the Kushāṇas.[5]

8. Nava

A Rajghat sealing[6] has, in the centre, the legend *Rājña Navvasya* in *circa* second or third century A. D. flanked by a spear on the left and a *yūpa* on the right. Below is a pile of balls (pl. IV, 6). The ruler may be identified with

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1. The one illustrated here is Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6049. *Rājño* is not clear on this specimen but is quite clear on many others.
2. *CCAI*, pp. 132-33, pl. XVI, nos. 17 & 18, pl. XVII, 1, 2. He is generally identified with the homonymous ruler referred to in the Ayodhya Stone Inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 95).
3. *CCAI*, pp. xcvii and 153, pl. XX, 12. Allan dates these coins between the first century B.C. and first century A.D. Prof. Bajpai is inclined to place Dhanadeva of these coins in the third century A.D. (*Ind. Num. Chro.*, III, p. 17). Dr. Chattopadhyaya, however, is of the opinion that Dhanadeva and his successors were subordinate rulers under Kanishka and his successors.
4. Palaeographically also the Kauśāmbī coins are nearer to our sealings.
5. Dhanadeva's issues have been taken to mark the last stage in the Kauśāmbī series of coins (*JNSI*, XXI, p. 188).
6. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 634.

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Nava of some Kauśāmbī coins.[1] According to Altekar,[2] the similarity of the coins of Nava with those of the Magha kings[3] is suggestive of the possibility that he succeeded them at Kauśāmbī. In the opinion of Jayaswal, Nava was the founder of Navanāga dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas.[4]

Dhanabhūti I, Vadhapāla, Dhanabhūti (II) and Hastipāla

1. Dhanabhūti I

A clay seal bearing a *svastika* and another symbol-'a combination of *Indradhvaja* and taurine'—and the legend *Dhanabhūtisa* in Brāhmī characters of *circa* first century B. C. has been found at Kauśāmbī.[5] A king, Dhanabhūti, is known from Bharhut inscriptions[6] and, on the basis of close similarity between the letters on the seal and the epigraphs, the two may be considered identical.[7]

2. Vadhapāla

A sealing from Kauśāmbī[8] bears four symbols—a *svastika*, *nandipada*, '*Indradhvaja*' and a curious one which cannot be easily ascertained—and the legend in *circa* first century B. C. characters, which has been read as *Hathīpalaśa*,[9] but is, in fact, *Vadhapalaśa*.[10] Vadhapāla of the sealing seems to be identical with his homonym who was a son of Dhanabhūti (identifiable with one referred to above), according to the evidence of inscriptions.[11]

3. Dhanabhūti II

A Rajghat sealing housed in the Department of A.I.H., C. and Archaeology, B.H.U., bears the legend *Dhanabhūtisa* together with a *śaṅkha* and a

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1. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. 154-55, pl. XXI, nos. 4-8 ; Shri K. Deva considers them as identical (*ABIHI*, III, p. xlvii)but V.S. Agrawala, as two different persons(*JNSI*,XXIII, p.412).
2. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 46.
3. The seals of Magha kings have been discussed below.
4. *History of India*, pp. 18-19.
5. Bajpai in *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 5 ; *IAR*, 1963-64, p. 74 ; *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 187, pl. III, 6.
6. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 30-31 ; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 87.
7. Cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 188.
8. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 44-45 and pl. II, 11.
9. *Ibid.*
10. The last letter looks like *śo* ; It may however be a symbol rather than a letter.
11. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 142, no. 54; Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 30-31 ; cf. also the evidence of a Mathura inscription, Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 130.

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svastika in compartments (pl. II, 7). The characters are of a type which are slightly later than those on the seal of the homonym discussed above. A Dhanabhūti whose son and grandson were Vadhapāla and Dhanabhūti (II) respectively is known from a Mathura inscription, as restored.[1] The present sealing may have belonged to Dhanabhūti (II). From the epigraphs[2] we get the following genealogy :

? =Gārgī
|
Viśvadeva=Gauptī
|
Agaraju[3]=Vātsī
|
Dhanabhūti (I)
|
Vadhapāla
|
Dhanabhūti (II)

4. Hastipāla

An ivory seal from Kauśāmbī (pl. II, 10) having a *svastika* as device bears the legend read as *Vaṁgapalasa.*[4] Vaṅgapāla was identified with a homonymous ruler known from the Pabhosa Inscription[5] and also with a king of the same name known from coins.[6] But the legend should be read *Hathipalasa.* There is a coin in the Allahabad Museum with a legend read as *Hathiparasa*[7] and the possibility of its being read *Hathipalasa* has been stated.[8] If the latter suggestion be accepted, Hastipāla of the seal and that of the coin may be identical. On grounds of provenance, palaeography and name-endings, it is tempting to suggest that Hastipāla might have been related to Vadhapāla.

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1. See Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 130.
2. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1-3, 30-31 ; Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 16, 130 and 142 (no. 54).
3. This form, Prof. Bajpai points out, is to be met with as legend on coins (*Kavirāja-Abhinandana-grantha*, p. 375). It has been variously rendered as *Agrarāja*, *Aṅgāradyutin* (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 88) and *Aṅgarāja* (*Kavirāja-Abhinandana-grantha*, pp. 374-75).
4. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 136 ; *ibid.*, XXV, p. 101.
5. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 136.
6. *Ibid.* This was, however, doubted and it was suggested that, palaeographically, the seal is later than the coins and that Vaṅgapāla of the seal was a king of Kauśāmbī (*ibid.*, XXV, p. 101).
7. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 20.
8. *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 100.

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Since the seals of Dhanabhūti and Hastipāla and the sealing of Vadhapāla have been found at Kauśāmbī, these seem to have been the rulers of that place, Bharhut being within their kingdom.[1] The find of the sealing of Dhanabhūti II at Rajghat may or may not suggest his rule over that region.

Vidiśā kings

1. Viśvāmitra

A Besnagar sealing[2] shows a humped bull, recumbent to the right with a trident in front and the legend.....*sya mah(ā)r(ā)ja-Śrī-Viś(ā)mitrasya sv(ā)minaḥ*. Viśvāmitra, as the device suggests, might have been a Śaiva. He is not known to us from any other source. It has been suggested that this ruler may have been the one who was defeated by Simuka Sāṭavāhana.[3]

2. Ṭimitra

A token from Besnagar bears the figure of a bull and the following legend :

1. *Ṭimitra-dātṛisya[sa]-ho (tā)*
2. *p(o)tā-maṁtra—sajana [? i]*[4]

Bhandarkar expressed the opinion that the words *hotā*, *potā* and *maṁtra*, which are technical to sacrificial literature, indicate that the sealing was connected with a *yajñaśālā*,[5] where the token was unearthed. He took Ṭimitra to be the Sanskritised form of Greek Demetrius and held that the Greek personage instituted some sacrifice.[6] Dr. Chattopadhyaya suggests that this ruler may be identified with *Yavanarāja* Dimita of the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela and places him in the last quarter of the first century B. C.[7] He also surmises that king Sarvatāta of the Ghosundi inscription

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1. Cf. also *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 188.
2. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 81, no. 1.
3. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, p. 65. There is no sufficient justification for this equation. The ruler had nothing to do with a homonymous Pañchāla ruler whose coin has been brought to light very recently (*IAR*, 1962-63, p. 64).
4. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pp. 77 and 83. In Bhandarkar's opinion, the import of the legend appears to be 'of the donor Ṭimitra, accompanied by the Hotā, Potā, hymn-kinsmen and....' (*ibid.*, pp. 77-78).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
7. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, p. 37. He gives the name of the king as Ṭimitra.

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performed a horse-sacrifice as a mark of his victory over this king.[1] But Ṭimitra has also been taken as an Indian king with a name ending in *mitra*.[2] It may be suggested that this ruler belonged to the dynasty to which Viśvāmitra, referred to above, belonged. It seems that these two rulers were descendants of Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who was intimately connected with Vidiśā.

Sarvatāta

A square clay tablet from the former Sambhar State (Rajasthan) bears a two-lined legend (1) *Savatā* (2) *tasa*[3] i. e. 'of Sarvatāta'[4] in Brāhmī characters of *circa* first or second century A. D. It reminds us of king Sarvatāta of the Ghosundi Inscription (*circa* first century B. C.), who was a *bhāgavata* and performed a horse-sacrifice.[5]

Jeṭhadatta

A few sealings of Jeṭhadatta have been unearthed at Rajghat and the one illustrated here (pl. II, 1)[6] bears a *svastika* and a *nandipada* along with the legend *Jeṭhadatasa* in characters of *crica* first century B. C. Another from the same site[7] has, in addition, an inverted triangle-headed standard. Jeṭhadatta of this sealing has, with sufficient justification, been identified[8] with a king whose coins have been found by Carllyle at Bairant, about twenty-two miles south-west of Ghazipur.[9]

Hastisena

A Rajghat sealing in the Allahabad Museum bears the legend *Hathisenasa* in characters of *circa* first century A. D. together with a spear on the left and

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1. *EHNI*, p. 38. He also refers to the name as Ṭimitra.
2. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 44.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 192.
4. Shri R. C. Agrawala renders it as 'Sarvatrāta' (*ibid.*).
5. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 90-91.
6. No. 468 in the Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch., B. H. U. See also Bharat Kala Bhavan, nos. 6329, 3330, etc.
7. Allahabad Museum, no. 18.
8. Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 59.
9. *CCAI*, pp. cliii and 279, pl. XLV, 10.

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a small symbol resembling a monogram (pl. II, 8). It is difficult to identify Hastisena[1] of the sealing under discussion.

Nāgārjuna

Another Rajghat sealing in the Bharat Kala Bhavan has the figure of a standing bull with a *yūpa*(?) to its front and a *chakra* on standard to its back. Below is the legend *Nagarajunasa* in *circa* first or second century A. D. characters.[2] The bull figure and *chakra* rather connect him with king Abhaya (pl. II, 4, 6) whose sealings have also been found at the same site and who, on the basis of the device, has been identified as a Kauśāmbī ruler.[3]

Jayaka and Jaya

A Rajghat sealing in the Bharat Kala Bhavan bears the device of a bull recumbent to left with a spear on either side, the legend above the bull *Jayakasa* being in *circa* first or second century A. D. characters (pl. III, 3).

Another sealing from the same site has a *yūpa* device in railing and a *nandipada* within a 'U'-shaped design. The legend *Jayasya* is in similar characters (pl. III, 2).[4] Perhaps Jayaka and Jaya, like kings Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra of the Shinkot Steatite Casket inscriptions,[5] belonged to the same family.

Mānyāditya

A Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing from Rajghat has the device of a *liṅga*, a *triśūla-paraśu* and the legend *M(ā)nyāditya-rajan*[6] in the late Kushāṇa script

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1. It does not seem that he was connected with Harisheṇa and Krishṇasena whose seals (discussed below) have different devices. The legend on their seals is in Sanskrit and not in Prakrit.
2. *DHI*, p. 189.
3. See *supra* p. 25.
4. In the collection of the Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch., B. H. U. Jaya as the name or first part of the name of kings occurs in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. (see Ganapati Sastri's ed., pp. 636, 653; cf. also Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, Sanskrit text, p. 62; *JBORS*, XXIII, p. 129).
5. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 102 ff. (Viyakamitra on p. 104 and Vijayamitra on pp. 104-105).
6. The reading is doubtful. See however, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.

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(pl. XIV, 4). The symbols suggest that the king was a Śaiva. It is difficult to establish the identity of this king for want of further evidence.

Ayodhya kings

A few sealings from Rajghat housed in the Allahabad Museum and Bharat Kala Bhavan have an important bearing on the genealogy and chronology of Ayodhya kings. A consideration of their provenance and the devices, legends and palaeography leads to the following conclusions:—

(*i*) The persons whose names occur on these sealings were kings belonging to the 'Ayodhya' series known from coins,

(*ii*) two of them may be identified with the homonymous rulers known from coins,

(*iii*) the rest of them may be added as new ones to the list of kings already known, and

(*iv*) a probable genealogical and chronological order of succession for these could be established.

The sealings may be described as below:—

1. *Phalgunimitra*

The sealing has a bull standing to left with a trident in front. The legend above the bull in characters of *circa* first or second century A. D. reads *Phalgunimitrasya* (pl. V, 3).[1]

2. *Vijayamitra*

The sealing bears a fine figure of a bull standing, facing left, a standard or *triśūla* in front of the bull. Below the head of the bull is a taurine symbol in 'U' shaped design. The legend above the bull in characters of *circa* first or second century A. D. reads *Vijayamitrasya* (pl. V, 4).[2]

3. *Śivamitra* (*son of Vijaymitra*)

The sealing shows a bull standing, facing left, with a trident-battle-axe in front as on the seal of Vishṇumitra. The prongs of the trident in this case are curved outwards. Behind the bull is a symbol, perhaps a *yūpa* within

1. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6028.
2. Allahabad Museum, no. 305.

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railing, its upper part being out of flan. The two-lined legend (one above and the other below the bull) reads:

1. *Vijayamitraputrasya*
2. *Śivamitrasya* (pl. V, 6).[1]

4. *Vishṇumitra (son of Bhavasena)*

The sealing bears a bull standing to left, facing a trident-battle-axe within a railing in front and the legend *Bhavasenaputrasya* and *Vishṇumitrasya* above and below the bull respectively in *circa* first or second century A. D. characters (pl. V, 2).[2]

5. *Saṅghamitra (son of Vishṇumitra)*

The sealing shows a female figure with prominent breasts and hips with hands placed on the latter. The legend on the right side of the figure (to be read clockwise) *Vishṇumitraputrasya* and on the left of it (to be read anti-clockwise, *Sa*[*ṁ*]*ghamit*[*r*]*asya* in characters of *circa* first or second century A. D. (pl. V, 7).[3]

6. *Pushyamitra*

The sealing bears an ornamental *nandipada* on railing-type pedestal with a standard-like symbol on either side. The legend below in *circa* first or second century A. D. lettering reads: *Pushyamitrasya* (pl. V, 5).

Thus, all but one of the above sealings bear the device of a standing bull. There is a trident-battle-axe symbol in the case of Vishṇumitra and Śivamitra, a trident in the case of Phalgunimitra and possibly the same on that of Vijayamitra. The palaeography of the inscriptions on these sealings does not seem to be far removed from one another. The device in the case of Saṅghamitra—a standing female figure—is doubtlessly different, but the legend in this case clearly states that he was the son of Vishṇumitra who is to be identified with the homonymous ruler and a son of Bhavasena (*vide* sealing no. 4). Vijayamitra of sealing no. 2 may be identified with Vijayamitra,

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1. In the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection.
2. In the Bharat Kala Bhavan colletion.
3. The first letter apparently gives the appearance of *a*. One is tempted to read *aya* instead of *saṁgha*. Āyumitra or Āryamitra—legend variously read as *Āyumitasa* or *Ayū*— (Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 150) and *Āyyamitasa* (Allan, *CCAI*, pp. 137-38) is also known from the Ayodhya series of coins.

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father of Śivamitra, of the sealing no. 3. All these may, therefore, be ascribed to one and the same family. Thus, four groups of rulers can be deduced from an examination of the above seals:

A. Vijayamitra
|
Śivamitra
B. Bhavasena
|
Vishṇumitra
|
Saṅghamitra
C. Phalgunimitra
D. Pushyamitra.

Of these, Vijayamitra[1] and Saṅghamitra[2] are known from the 'Ayodhya' series of coins. The device on the sealing of Vijayamitra[3] is almost identical with that on the coins of the ruler in the above-mentioned series. The sealing of Saṅghamitra, however, has a standing female figure, a device different from the one which occurs on the coins of the homonymous ruler of the same series. The latter bear the bull symbol quite common on the coins of Ayodhya rulers. But the device of a standing female figure is also to be met with on the coins of certain rulers of Ayodhya.[4]

There is sufficient justification in identifying Vijaymitra[5] and Saṅghamitra of the sealings with the homonymous rulers known from coins of the 'Ayodhya' series. Obviously, Śivamitra, son of the former, and Bhavasena

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1. For Vijayamitra's coins, see Allan, *CCAI*, pp. 138-39, pl. XVII, 22; *ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 1, 4, etc.; Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 151, nos. 29-36 ('Bull obv.' type).
2. For Saṅghamitra's coins, see *CCAI*, p. 138, pl. XVII, 21.
3. It may, however, be noted that the symbol in front of the bull on the coins of the Ayodhya rulers may be *triśūla-paraśu* (see, e.g. *CCAI*, pl. XVII, 22) rather than a standard as suggested by Allan (*ibid.*, p. 138). The *paraśu* is very distinct.
4. On the coins of Vāyudeva (*ibid.*, p. 131, pl. XVII, 8), Viśākhadeva (*ibid.*, p. 131, pl. XVI, 14) and Dhanadeva (*ibid.*, p. 132, pl. XVI, 17).
5. There is no question of identifying this Vijayamitra with the homonymous ruler known from Kulūta coins (Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 820, nos. 252-53; *ibid.*, III, pl. 243, nos. 252-53) or with the one known from Shinkot Steatite Casket inscriptions (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 102 ff.) who is identified with a ruler whose name occurs on the coins of his son (Whitehead, *CCPM*, I, p. 168, pl. XVII).

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and Vishṇumitra,[1] grandfather and father respectively of the latter, belonged to the same family. It may also be added that the *sena*-ending name in the midst of *mitra*-ending ones does not pose any serious problem. The 'Ayodhya' series of coins itself has *sena*-ending name—Kumudasena.[2] The relation of Phalgunimitra and Pushyamitra with any other ruler, either as father or son, is not mentioned. The device,[3] palaeography and name-endings suggest that they also belonged to the ruling family of Ayodhya.[4]

The main question arising out in arrangement of these rulers in chronological order is: which of the two sets of rulers—(A) Vijayamitra and Śivamitra and (B) Bhavasena, Vishṇumitra and Saṅghamitra—came first and where should Phalgunimitra and Pushyamitra be placed? The palaeography of the inscriptions provides some help. The letter *ma* in *Phalgunimitra* is a slightly modified form of the Mauryan type, its upper part being crescent-shaped and not angular (pl. V, 3) while *ya* is of the three-pronged variety. The *ma* and *ya* in the case of Vijayamitra's sealing, though of a similar type, are characterised by angular strokes (pl. V, 4). In the rest of the sealings, *ya* is of the cursive type and *ma* of the three-pronged variety. Both types of *ma*[5] and *ya*[6] occur in the Gupta script and, at least in one case, both types of *ma* occur on one and the same coin.[7] But the cursive *ya* and the three-pronged *ma* do not seem to have been in vogue before *circa* first century A. D.[8]

Thus, on palaeographic considerations, Phalgunimitra may be ranked

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1. The device, legend, provenance and palaeography clearly show that Vishṇumitra had nothing to do with the homonymous ruler known from Mathura (Allan, *CCAI*, p. 175, pl. XXV, 15-16) or Pañchāla (*ibid.*, p. 202, pl. XXIX, 6, 8 and 9).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
3. The device on the sealing of Pushyamitra is not bull but an ornamental *nandipada* which also occurs on the coins of other Ayodhya rulers, e. g. Kumudasena (*ibid.*, p. 137, pl. XVII, 17; Smith, *CCIM*, I, pl. XIX, 15), Ajavarma (*ibid.*, p. 150, pl. XIX, 16), Saṅghamitra (*CCAI*, p. 138, pl. XVII, 21). *Nandipada* also occurs on some Kauśāmbī coins as an accessory symbol (*ibid.*, pp. 150-52).
4. Identification of Phalgunimitra with the homonymous Pañchāla ruler whose coins bear the three typical Pañchāla symbols (*CCAI*, pp. 194-95, pl. XXVII, 11 and 14) is hardly pertinent. Nor is it now necessary to consider him related to king Gomitra, whose coins have been obtained from Bairant near Ghazipur and now housed in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, as held by some (*Motichandra, Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 59).
5. Upasak, *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 230-33.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-34.
7. See Altekar, *CGGCBH*, pl. III, 13.
8. Palaeography has its own limitations; old forms of letters often linger on and maintain their continuity with the new ones. The question is not how long the form lingered on; the bearing in the present case is rather on the point when it was first introduced.

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as the earliest followed by Vijayamitra. Śivamitra, son of the latter, would naturally have succeeded him. The other group of kings, represented by Bhavasena, his son Vishṇumitra, and the latter's son Saṅghamitra should be placed after them in the same order. Whether the latter group followed the former without any intervening king or kings is difficult to ascertain. On the basis of similarity of name-endings, it is tempting to recognise king Kumudasena of the Ayodhya coins[1] as the father of Bhavasena. Pushyamitra either ruled between the two groups (A and B) or was the last in the series.

The finding of seals of a king at a particular place, particularly at such an important one as Varanasi, does not necessarily mean that it was within his kingdom. But when seals belonging not to one but several rulers of Ayodhya have been found at Rajghat, it seems that Varanasi formed an integral part of their kingdom.[2]

Kings of the Magha dynasty

1. *Bhīmasena*

A Rajghat sealing in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[3] has the following symbols: a bow and arrow above, a standard in a railing on the left and a *yūpa* in a railing on the right. The legend reads *Rājño Bhīmasenas(y)a* (pl. IV, 2). Another sealing, a circular one from Bhita,[4] has a bull, standing to left, with a woman standing in front. Behind the bull is a post or a thunderbolt. The legend reads : *[Rā]jña Vās(i)sṭh(i)*[5]*-puttrasya Śrī-Bhīmasena (sya)*, 'of the illustrious *Rājā* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena', in *circa* second or third century A. D. characters (pl. IV, 4).

The common device of the bow and arrow in the Rajghat and Bhita sealings tends to favour the suggestion that Bhīmasena referred to in both these is one and the same ruler.[6]

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1. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. lxxxix-xc and 137, pl. XVII, 17.
2. Even the find-spots of the coins of kings labelled as 'Ayodhya Kings' clearly show that their rule was not confined only to Ayodhya and its suburbs but extended to a wider area (cf. Allan, *CCAI*, p. lxxxvii).
3. No. 6336.
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 27, pl. XVIII.
5. Marshall reads *Vāsasu* (*ibid.*) but *sṭha* is quite clear on the plate.
6. See *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411 ; *ABIHI*, III, p. xlvii. Marshall, however, thought that *Rājā* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena of the Bhita sealing was a new addition to the Vāsishṭhīputra line of the Āndhra rulers (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51).

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Rājā Bhīmasena of the seals is probably identical with *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena of a Ginja inscription (year 52)[1] and a Bandhogarh inscription dated in the year 51.[2] Coins of that king bearing the legend *Rajño Bhīmasena*,[3] or *Rājā Bhīmasenasa*[4] have been found at Kauśāmbī. The combined evidence of epigraphy, numismatics and the seals suggests that his rule extended over regions comprising Bandhogarh, Kauśāmbī and Varanasi.[5]

2. *Kautsīputra Śivamagha*

A sealing from Rajghat has, in the upper field, a *nandipada* and two other symbols that are now defaced, and, below, a bow and an arrow, a three-arched hill and a *ḍamaru*. The legend is *Rājña(ḥ) Kautsīputrasya Śrī-Śivamaghasya*.[6] Agrawala suggested that Kautsīputra Śivamagha was perhaps a brother of Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī, the two being sons of Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena of the Ginja inscription.[7]

3. *Gautamīputra Śivamagha*

No. 26 in Marshall's list of Bhita seals[8] has a device identical (though transposed) with the one on the sealing of Bhīmasena (no. 27 of the same list), already discussed. The legend reads *Mahārāja-Gautamīputrasya Śrī-Śivamaghasya*.[9]

The identical devices suggest that Bhīmasena and Śivamagha belonged to the same family. Śivamagha of the seal is, perhaps, identical with the homonymous ruler referred to in a Kauśāmbī inscription[10] and also in a

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1. *ASR*, XXI, p. 119, pl. XXX.
2. *EI*, XXXI, p. 177, no. 1.
3. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 16.
4. *Ind. Num. Chro.*, III, pp. 12-13. The statement—'no coins of Bhīmasena have been discovered so far'—in the *Compr. Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 260, is, no doubt, incorrect.
5. Altekar thought that Bhīmasena was a petty chieftain, did not issue any coins and ruled in areas around Bandhogarh (*JGJRI*, 1944, p. 154). The ruler, at that time, was known only from the Bhita sealing and the Bandhogarh inscriptions. The find of the sealing at Bhita was explained away by him as possibly a result of some correspondence. In the light of the findings of his coins at Kauśāmbī and a sealing at Rajghat, this view needs modification.
6. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51.
9. Marshall reads it as *Śivam(e)ghasya* (*ibid.*).
10. *EI*, XVIII, p. 159, no. II.

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Bandhogarh inscription.[1] His coins have been found at Fatehpur and Kauśāmbī in large numbers.[2]

4. *Rudramagha*

A Rajghat sealing bears the legend *Mahāsenāpatisya Rudramaghasya* in the centre, a bow and an arrow above and a three-arched hill in the lower field.[3] The name and device suggest that Rudramagha was also a king of Magha dynasty. It seems that he was a *senāpati* before rising to kingship. Instances of even kings designated as *senāpatis* are known.[4]

The epigraphs of the Magha dynasty are dated between years 51 and 139. Opinions differ regarding the era used in dating the epigraphs of these rulers and Gupta, Kalachuri and Śaka eras have variously been suggested by different scholars.[5] Of these the last one seems to be the most probable. The Kushāṇa hold over the areas under the Maghas either became loose after Kanishka I or was completely lost.[6] The Magha dynasty played an important part in the political history of a large area of the Madhyadeśa before the rise of the Guptas. The kings of this dynasty,[7] known from various sources—seals, epigraphs and coins—may be detailed as below :

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1. *EI*, XXXI, p. 184, no. XIV.
2. *JNSI*, II, pp. 96-97.
3. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 412. One is tempted to read the legend as *Mahāsenaputrasya Rudramaghasya.*
4. Cf. e.g. Pushyamitra Śuṅga (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 95).
5. Sahni reckoned them in the Gupta era (*EI*, XVIII, p. 160), while according to Shri K. Deva (*ibid.*, XXIV, p. 256) and N. G. Majumdar (*ibid.*, XXIV, p. 147) these are dated in the Chedi era. Konow (*ibid.*, XXIII, p. 247) and Altekar (in *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 41 fn.) suggest the use of the Śaka era. Referring these datings to the Gupta or Chedi era would bring the dates to a period synchronous with the mighty Guptas. It is, indeed, difficult to believe that Samudragupta, who completely uprooted the nine *Āryāvarta* kings (*CII*, III, no. 1), or his immediate successors, would have tolerated the Magha kings issuing coins or scribing epigraphs in their names without any reference to the former as their liege-lords. Even on palaeographic grounds, Mirashi considers the epigraphs to be dated in the same era in which the inscriptions of Kanishka have been dated (*EI*, XXVI, pp. 300-02).
6. Prof. Bajpai suggests that the region of Kauśāmbī and Varanasi never came under the Kushāṇas (*Ind. Num. Chro.*, III, pp. 18-21).
7. Dr. Chattopadhyaya suggests that the rulers who do not bear names ending in *magha* (although generally considered as belonging to the Magha dynasty) should be ascribed to some other dynasty (*EHNI*, p. 142).

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1. Bhīmasena—Bhita and Rajghat sealings and Bandhogarh and Ginja inscriptions.[1]

2. Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī (Kochchhiputra Poṭhasiri) son of Bhīmasena—Bandhogarh inscriptions (dated years 86, 87 and 88 and undated)[2] and a coin from Bhita.[3]

3. Bhadramagha—Kauśāmbī inscriptions dated 81, 86 and 87[4], coins[5] and a potsherd from Kausāmbī.[6]

4. Bhaṭṭadeva, son of Praushṭhaśrī—Bandhogarh inscriptions, one dated year 90.[7] Altekar considers Bhaṭṭadeva and Bhadramagha as identical[8] but Dr. Motichandra takes these as two different persons.[9]

5. Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala—Known from the Bandhogarh inscription of his son, Vaiśravaṇa.[10] According to some, it is not unlikely that he was identical with Bhadramagha.[11]

6. Kautsīputra Śivamagha (perhaps, a brother of Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī)—Rajghat sealing, and an inscription from Kauśāmbī referred to above.

7. Gautamīputra Śivamagha—Bhita sealing already referred to; epigraphs from Kauśāmbī and Bandhogarh, discussed above.

8. Vaiśravaṇa (son of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala)—Kauśāmbī inscription dated year 107,[12] two Bandhogarh inscriptions[13] and coins.[14]

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1. See evidence cited above.
2. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 178-82 and 185, nos. II-X and XVII.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 66. The legend has been read by Marshall as *Prashṭhasriya* (?).
4. Year 81, *EI*, XXIV, pp. 253ff; year 87, *ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 245ff.; year 88, *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 160.
5. *JNSI*, II, pp. 95 ff.
6. *IAR*, 1955-56, p. 20.
7. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 182-83, no. XI.
8. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 43 fn.
9. *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 72. His main argument is that if we take Bhadramagha and Bhaṭṭadeva identical then there would be an overlapping of dates between the rule of Poṭhasiri and Bhadramagha-Bhaṭṭadeva. He does not seem to agree with Altekar's theory according to which Bhadramagha-Bhaṭṭadeva became almost an independent ruler of Kauśāmbī region during his father's rule.
10. See *infra*, no. 8.
11. Altekar in *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 45-46. He, however, considers it more probable that Bhadrabala was different from Bhadramagha (*ibid.*, p. 45 fn.).
12. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 146-48.
13. *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 185-86, nos. XVIII and XIX.
14. *JNSI*, II, pp. 95 ff.

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9. Rudramagha—A Rajghat sealing, discussed above.

10. Bhīmavarman—Kauśāmbī inscriptions dated years 130 and 139[1] and coins.[2]

11—14. Śatamagha,[3] Vijayamagha,[4] Yajñamagha[5] and Puramagha[6]—known from coins only.

It would be worthwhile to refer to the opinion of Pai regarding some of the kings discussed under the Magha dynasty. According to him, Gautamīputra Śivamāgha (as he prefers to read), Bhadramāgha and Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena, all were sons of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena[7] and governors at different times with their headquarters at Kauśāmbī. In that capacity, they could designate themselves *mahārājas*.[8] This view, however, does not seem to be convincing. The above-mentioned persons were rulers and issued coins, while no Vākāṭaka ruler, much less a governor, is known to have issued any currency.

Kings seemingly related to the Magha dynasty

1. *Kṛishṇasena*

A Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing[9] from Rajghat has a bow and arrow in the upper field and the legend *Kṛishṇasenasya* in the centre. Below are a *svastika*, *nandipada*, *śrīvatsa* and *śaṅkha* in a row (pl. IV, I). The complete device contains, in addition, a *yūpa* on the left and a *śakti* on the right of the legend.[10] Sealings of Kṛishṇasena are quite numerous and housed in several museums of Northern India.

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1. *ASR*, X, p. 3, pl. II.
2. *JNSI*, II, pp. 95 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 10, 11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
5. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 9. Prof. Bajpai, however, doubts Altekar's reading of the name of this ruler and thinks that this coin cannot be placed under the Magha series (*Ind. Num. Chro.*, III, p. 16). The name has been given as 'Yugamagha' in *EHNI*, p. 143.
6. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 8.
7. Pai, *JIH*, XIV, pp. 16-17. He thinks that the person Vindhyavardhana (as he reads the legend) referred to on seal no. 25 was the son of Pravarasena I and grandson of Vindhyaśakti (after whom he, in Pai's opinion, was named). In his opinion, the Bhita seal no. 29 bears the legend (*Vākā*)*ṭaka-mahārāja* and belongs to Pravarasena I (*ibid.*, p. 16).
8. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 175.
9. No. 6340.
10. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.

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2. *Harisheṇa*

Sealings of Harisheṇa have been unearthed at Rajghat in hundreds. They are now housed in several museums but the bulk lies with the Bharat Kala Bhavan and the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, where their number is more than four hundred. They bear the same symbols as on those of Kṛishṇasena and have the legend *Harisheṇasya* (pl. IV, 3).[1] The evidence of devices and name-endings leaves little doubt that Kṛishṇasena and Harisheṇa belonged to one and the same family. Further, the bow and arrow device, which also occurs on the Bhita sealings of Śivamagha and Bhīmasena together with the *sena*-ending (also a feature of the names of certain Magha kings), suggests the possibility that Kṛishṇasena and Harisheṇa belonged to, or were connected with, the Magha dynasty.[2]

Yajñaśrī(?)

A fragmentary Besnagar sealing bears the device of a recumbent bull and has a two-lined legend read by Bhandarkar as below:

1. .....*ra*[*jño*].....*pasa*
2. .....[*yajñaśr*]*ī*[*hotṛi*] *tṛi*..[*ni*].[3]

The illegibility deters us from forming any definite conclusions and collating this king with the Sātavāhana ruler of that name.

Kings of the Bodhi dynasty

Recent excavations at Tripuri brought to light sealings of Śiva Bodhi,[4] Vasu Bodhi,[5] Chandra Bodhi[6] and Śrī Bodhi.[7] These bear the legends *Vasiṭhiputrasa Siva-Bodhisa mahārājasa, Vasiṭhīputrasa Vasu-Bodhisa mahārājasa,....*

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1. Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Archaeology, B. H. U., no. 387.
2. See also Motichandra, *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 73. He also considers the possibility of these kings representing a branch line of the Magha dynasty. It is tempting to identify Harisheṇa of the sealing with the homonym of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. He has been referred to therein as a *khādyaṭapākika, sāndhivigrahika, kumārāmātya* and *daṇḍanāyaka*; he might have been a feudatory of Samudragupta.
3. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82.
4. *Bull. of An. Ind. Hist. & Arch.*, No. 1, pp. 100, 126-27; *Purātattva*, No. 2, p. 64.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 23.
7. Information from Prof. K. D. Bajpai.

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Chandra-Bodhisa mahārājasa and...*Siri-Bodhisa*....respectively.[1] These kings were not known before the discovery of the aforementioned sealings. It appears that they ruled immediately after the Sātavāhanas in areas around Tripuri.[2]

Theudama

A seal found in Bajaur territory shows a standing figure holding a branch or corn-stalk or a sceptre. The legend, in Kharoshṭhī, reads *Su-Theudma(sa)* i. e. '(seal) of King Theodamas'.[3] It is difficult to establish the identity of this king. Konow, however, holds that this king ruled somewhere in the Kabul Valley region at the time when the Greek dominance over these and adjoining regions was overthrown by the Parthians and, subsequently, by the Kushāṇas.[4]

Gondophares[5]

A baked clay sealing (pl. IV, 9) from Sanghol, Ludhiana District, now in the collection of Shri G. B. Sharma of the Indian Air Force, shows in the centre a crude figure of Pallas holding a shield in her outstretched right hand and a thunderbolt in the left. The circular Kharoshṭhī legend reads *Rajadirajasa Tratarasa Gudupharasa* '(seal) of Gondophares, *rājādhirāja* (great king of kings) and *trātāra* (saviour)'. Gondophares was the most important amongst the Indo-Parthian kings and ruled at least between A. D. 21 and A. D. 46, if his Takht-i-Bahi inscription be dated in the Vikrama era.[6] The seal device is the same as on the reverse of the 'head of the king and Pallas' type of his coins except for the word *devavrata* which occurs only on the latter. A few more sealings of this type and about half a dozen of coins of this ruler acquired from the same site by Shri Sharma, suggest that the area around Sanghol was within his kingdom. The 'Pallas' device seems to have become characteristic of

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1. Information from Prof. K. D. Bajpai.
2. See *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 23.
3. *CII*, II, p. 6, pl. 1, 3. The seal is now missing.
4. *CII*, II, p. 6.
5. The following paragraph is mainly based on Dr. S. N. Chaturvedi's paper 'A unique sealing of Gondophares' read by him in the Gorakhpur session (1969) of the Numismatic Society of India.
6. See Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 125-26. It is dated in year 103 of an era and year 26 of the reign of Gondaphares.

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the coins of East Punjab by the time of Menander and its occurrence on the coins and seals of Gondophares would also indicate his rule over that region.

Kanishka

A rectangular clay sealing (pl. III, 5) form Kauśāmbī has the legend:

1. *Mahārājasya rājāti*
2. *rājasya deva-putrasya*
3. *Kaṇishkasya prayo*
4. *ga*

The above legend has been translated thus: 'In the service of *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Devaputra* Kanishka'.[1] It may, however, be rendered as the stamp of *Mahārāja* etc. The conflicts of Kanishka with rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra have been mentioned by Tibetan chroniclers.[2] His coins have also been found in several parts of Bihar[3] and even further east.[4] Also, his inscriptions at Sarnath (dated year 3)[5] and Kauśāmbī (dated year 2)[6] are well known. An inscription of this ruler has also been discovered in the course of recent excavations at the latter place.[7] Literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence coupled with that of our sealing tends to show that Varanasi, Kauśāmbī and parts of Bihar were within the empire of Kanishka.[8] Probably the sealing was attached to a letter sent by that ruler to one of his officials at Kauśāmbī.

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1. In Prof. Sharma's memoir on Kauśāmbī Excavations (in press). I am grateful to Prof. Sharma for showing me the typed copy.
2. Konow, *CII*, II, pp. lxxii, lxxv; Thomas, *IA*, XXXII, 1903, p. 349; see also Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, p. 50.
3. E.g. at Pāṭaliputra (*ASIAR*, 1912-13, pp. 79, 84) and Buxur (*JNSI*, XII, pp. 121 ff.).
4. His gold coins have been found at Tamluk (*vide* Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, p. 50).
5. *EI*, VIII, pp. 173ff., nos. IIIa, IIIb, and IIId.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 1934, pp. 83ff.
7. *IAR*, 1953-54, p. 9.
8. For a different view see Prof. Bajpai's article in *Ind. Num. Chro.*, III, pp. 18-21. He maintains that the epigrahs at Sarnath and Kauśāmbī are on the pedestals of statues made of Mathura sandstone which were fashioned at Mathura and exported to these and other places. Coins being easily portable, their find at various places, according to him, should not be taken as indicative of Kanishka's rule over those regions.

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Śivasena

The name of *Kshatrapa* Śivasena occurs on a copper seal from Punjab.[1] The legend has been read by Dowson as *Śivasena kshatrapa Atridara Paṭan are*, 'Śivasena *kshatrapa*, city of Atridara.'[2] Konow proposed the reading *Śivasena kshatrapa Avri[sa]ra Pathaṇaare*, 'Śivasena, the *kshatrapa* in the town of Abhisāraprastha'.[3] The possibility of this personage being a governor cannot be overlooked. The honorific *kshatrapa* is also applicable to a king though basically to a governor.

Western Kshatrapas

1. *Rudrasena*

A *Mahārāja* Rudrasena is mentioned in a monastic seal found at Intwa, near Junagarh (Saurashtra).[4] Dr. Chhabra plausibly identifies him with the Western Śaka *Kshatrapa* Rudrasena I (*circa* A. D. 199-222).[5] This seal proved, for the first time, that that king was intimately connected with Buddhism. The Devnimori Stone Casket Inscription,[6] brought to light recently, it may be noted, refers to the constructional activities of the Buddhist faith in the (Śaka[7]) year 127 (=A. D. 205) during the reign of Rudrasena.

2. *Rudrasiṁha and Rudrasena*

Two identical clay sealings from Basarh[8] show in the centre a bull, with a sphere between the horns. The legend, in a continuous circle around the edge, reads:

> *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Svāmī-Rudrasiṁhasya duhitu Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Svāmī-Rudrasenasya bhaginyā Mahādevyā Prabhudamāyā(ḥ)* (pl. II, 9).

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1. *CII*, II, (i), p. 103. The legend is in Kharoshṭhī.
2. As quoted in *ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 174-75. For complete legend see under Buddhist seals in chapter IV, *infra.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 519.
7. *Ibid.*; *JOIB* XII, pp. 173ff. Prof. Mirashi thinks that the inscription is dated in Kalachuri era and suggests that Rudrasena might have been a king of Ābhīra dynasty and related to Īśvarasena of that dynasty (*VIJ*, III, p. 103).
8. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 136, no. 248, pl. XLVII; *ibid.*, p. 141, no. 347, pl. XLVIII.

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Dr. D. C. Sircar identifies Rudrasiṁha, the father of Prabhudamā and Rudrasena, her brother, with Rudrasiṁha I (*mahākshatrapa* between A. D. 181-88 and A. D. 191-97 and, curiously enough, *kshatrapa* between A. D. 188 and 191 as per numismatic evidence) and Rudrasena I (A. D. 199-222) respectively.[1] It is not known whose queen Prabhudamā was. Dr. Sircar suggests that her husband might have been 'a chief of the Lichchhavis who appear to have flourished in that region before the rise of the Guptas.'[2] Dr. Chattopadhyaya thinks that during that period the Vaiśālī region was within the Muruṇḍa dominions and Prabhudamā was married to a Muruṇḍa chief[3] Dr. Dasharatha Sharma[4] identifies Rudrasiṁha with Rudrasiṁha II (*circa* A. D. 305-317) and holds that 'in a slightly loose but popular sense she, as cousin of Rudrasena III (A. D. 348-378), could also call herself his sister'.[5] In his opinion, she might have been the queen of Samudragupta and this may be taken as an instance of the *kanyopāyanadāna* by frontier kings, Śakas and others, referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.[6]

3. *Siṁha Śrīsena*

A clay sealing found in excavations at Eran has a three-arched hill and a river as symbols with the legend:

Rājño Īśvaramitraputrasya rājño Siṁhaśrīsenasya[7]

'(Seal) of king Siṁha Śrīsena, son of king Īśvaramitra'. Prof. Bajpai dates the seal to the end of the fourth century A.D. and suggests that Īśvaramitra and his son Siṁha Śrīsena, were rulers of Eastern Malwa.[8] The latter may be identified with Svāmi Siṁhasena of coins.[9] It has also been sug-

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1. See *AIU*, p. 187.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *EHNI*, p. 154. He adds: 'by this matrimonial alliance the Śakas of the Western India probably hoped to strengthen their hands' (*ibid.*).
4. *PIHC*, 1956, pp. 146-48.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
6. *Ibid.* His main arguments for disagreement with Dr. Sircar's view are (i) the palaeography does not favour such an early date and (ii) the seal device—bull with sphere—is Mithraic in origin which could have been borrowed by the Indians only after the conquests of Sindh by Varhran II in A. D. 284.
7. *Bull. of A.I.H. and Arch.*, No. 1, p. 9.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
9. Siṁhasena is known to have ruled at least in A. D. 382. He was the son of the sister of Rudrasena III. Rudrasena III, whose coins are known for a period earlier as well as later than 382, was either 'temporarily dispossessed of his authority by his nephew, or there was a civil war involving a partition of the kingdom, at least for some years' (*Classical Age*, pp. 48-49).

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gested[1] that Īśvaramitra might be identified with the Śaka chief, who, according to literary evidence, is said to have humbled the Gupta ruler, Rāmagupta.

Avarighsa

A British Museum intaglio[2] shows a beautiful royal portrait and bears the following legend:

1. *Śrī-rmāhārāj-Āvarighsasya*
2. *Vāma-Ratan-Āyama.*[3]

The purport of the second line is not clear. Dr. D. C. Sircar is of the opinion that Vāma, Ratana and Ayama are the names of his officers and translates the whole as "(This is the seal) of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Avarighsa. (His representatives are) Vāma, Ratna and Aryaman".[4]

The royal figure wears typical Indian dress, *dhotī*, but on his head is a diadem suggesting his foreign affinity. The Garuḍa motif on which the lower ends of arch of the window (against which the portrait has been shown) rest is typically Indian. The name Avarighsa is certainly foreign. Taking these and other factors into consideration, Dr. Sircar takes him as a thoroughly Indianised foreigner.

The legend, in mixed Prakrit and Sanskrit, is in box-headed characters of *circa* third century A. D.[5] Comparing the letters with those from various regions, Dr. Sircar comes to the conclusion that the seal may have come from a 'region about the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa'.[6] Avarighsa might have been a Śaka chief though his title is *mahārāja* and not *kshatrapa* or *mahākskatrapa*, which is so common with the Śaka chiefs. His exact position *vis-a-vis* the known Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī cannot be ascertained.

Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja

The legend *Śrī-Vindhyabedhana—mahārājasya maheśvara—mahāsenātisṛishṭarājyasya Vṛishadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya* occurs on an excellent Bhita sealing

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1. Prof. Bajpai in *Bull. A. I. H. & Arch.*, No. 1, p. 10.
2. See Sircar, *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 275-84 and pl.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.

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in characters of *circa* third century A. D. (pl. III, 7).[1] Marshall thus translated the legend: 'of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who has made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya.'[2] He pointed out that the existence of the practice of dedicating one's kingdom to the *ishṭadeva* was followed by the rulers of Travancore.[3] According to Banerjea, the Kuṇinda coins bearing the legend *Bhagavato Chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ*[4] and the Yaudheya issues bearing the legend *Yaudheya-bhagavatosvāmino Brahmaṇyasya*[5] were indicative of the same practice amongst the two tribes. A few other instances of this practice have also been cited by Dr. V. S. Pathak.[6] The interpretation of Marshall is generally followed by others. Dr. Mirashi, however, does not accept this translation. According to his interpretation, the 'king believed that he had obtained the kingdom by the grace of Lord Mahāsena (Kārttikeya)'.[7]

Marshall amends *Vindhyabedhana* to *Vindhyavedhana* (=penetrator of the Vindhyas). This would show that the ruler extended his kingdom by conquering the Vindhya region. In his opinion, the matronymic, Gautamīputra, shows that the king was connected with other princes—Śrī Sātakarṇi and Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi bearing the same. The palaeography of the seal-inscription shows South Indian features. Dr. D.C. Sircar, however, refers to the expression *Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisṛishṭa-rājya-vibhava* occurring in a Nala epigraph and suggests the possibility of this king being related to the Nalas.[8] Vṛisha-

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1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 50-51. It has 'in field, pile of balls or dots with a post on each side, a wavy line below and sun and crescent above' (*ibid.*, p. 50).
2. *Ibid.*, The compound *Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisṛishṭarājyasya* has obviously been dissolved as *Maheśvarāya Mahāsenāya atisṛishṭaṁ rājyaṁ yena tasya.*
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, fn. 4.
4. *DHI*, p. 118, fn. 1.
5. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 160-63.
6. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, pp. 1-2.
7. The compound has been dissolved as *Maheśvareṇa Mahāsenena atisṛishṭaṁ rājyaṁ yasmai tasya.* Prof. Mirashi adds that 'similar expressions indicating the belief that the particular royal family was created or protected by a certain deity occur in inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, Chālukyas and other royal families also' (*IHQ*, XXVI, p. 145). Dr. D. C. Sircar considers both the interpretations as equally valid (*AIU*, p. 177).

   It may be suggested here that the legend might convey that the Great Lord (Maheśvara) Vindhyabedhana Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja carved out a kingdom for himself with the help of his great army. The dissolving of the compound would be: *Maheśvarasya Mahāsenayā atisṛishṭaṁ rājyaṁ yena tasya. Sṛishṭa* does mean 'created', but it is doubtful whether one is entitled to take the word *atisṛishṭa* in the same sense.
8. *Classical Age*, p. 188, fn. 3.

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dhvaja, Marshall suggests, would be only a second name assumed by the King on the occasion of his coronation out of respect to the god Śiva.[1] *Vṛishadhvaja*, literally 'one who has bull device on his banner', reminds us of *Kapidhvaja* and similar other expressions. Pai reads Vindhyavardhana for Marshall's Vindhyabedhana and takes it as the name of a Vākāṭaka prince, grandson of Vindhyaśakti and son of Pravarasena I and the latter's governor at Kauśāmbī.[2] It may be added that one of the two sons of Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka was Gautamīputra. However, Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, in all probability, was a full-fledged ruler.

Śaṅkarasiṁha

According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Mahārāja* Śaṅkarasiṁha of a Bhita sealing[3] datable to *circa* fourth century A. D. and described by us elsewhere,[4] might have been a successor of *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Vindhyavedhana. The assumption is based on the fact that both specimens were found at the same site and both rulers bear the title *mahārāja*.

Achyutavarman

A Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing[5] from Rajghat bears the legend *Mahārāja Śry-Achyutavarmman* in early Gupta characters of the South Indian variety.[6] Whether he is to be taken as identical with king Achyuta of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription[7] and king Achyu(ta) of some coins found in Uttar Pradesh[8] is difficult to assert. It may also be suggested, on the basis of name-ending, that he might have been a predecessor of Balavarman, another *Āryāvarta* king, mentioned in the same epigraph and in the same context. From the Southern variety of alphabet, Shri K. Deva infers that this ruler perhaps belonged to South India.[9]

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1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51.
2. *JIH*, XIV, p. 16.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 34.
4. See Chapter III.
5. No. 6357.
6. See also *ABIHI*, III, p. xlvii ; *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
7. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 7, line 21 (text).
8. *CCAI*, pp. lxxix-lxxx and 117-18, pl. XIV.
9. *ABIHI*, III, p. xlvii.

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Bhadrāksha, Ramyāksha, Śvetabhadra and Trivikrama

Numerous sealings from Sankisa furnish us with names like Bhadrāksha, Ramyāksha and Śvetabhadra.[1] Seals of the first two bear Śaiva devices[2] while that of the last Vaishṇava ones.[3] Palaeographically, these are assignable to the early Gupta period. The number of the sealings—seventy of Bhadrāksha,[4] forty of Śvetabhadra[5] and four of Ramyāksha[6]—suggests the importance of these persons and it is not unlikely that they were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. We may, in passing, mention that a king Bhadrāksha has been referred to in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[7] Sastri considers it not altogether impossible that Śvetabhadra of the seals might have been a descendant of the house to which Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription belonged.[8] But the gap of about five hundred years, as he himself points out,[9] makes it an extremely doubtful case. Doubts also remain regarding the credentials of Trivikrama whose name occurs on a Sankisa sealing of the Gupta period bearing an effigy of a person seated on a couch, though Hiranand Sastri treats him as a king.[10]

Mattila

A terracotta seal from Bulandshahr[11] bears in the upper field the device of a *śaṅkha* and a symbol like a wing raised on a little stand.[12] In the lower field occurs the legend which has been read as *Mattila*,[13] and identified with the king Matila mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as one of the *Āryāvarta* kings uprooted by Samudragupta.[14] But, in the absence of

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1. *JUPHS*, III, p. 108.
2. These bear the figure of Śiva or Nandī or *triśūla* (*ibid.*).
3. The sealings of Śvetabhadra show probably a Garuḍa holding a serpent (*ibid.*).
4. Sixty-nine were unearthed in H. Sastri's excavations (*ibid.*) ; one was obtained from surface ; see our article in *JUPHS* (*NS*), IX, pp. 91-95.
5. *JUPHS*, III, p. 108.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Vide*, Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s. v. Bhadra.*
8. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 108-09.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
11. *IA*, XVIII (1889), p. 289.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Cunningham, Fleet and Growse read it so (*ibid.*).
14. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 7, line 21 (text) ; *PHAI*, p. 534.

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any device, royal title or even the honorific *śrī*, together with the difference in the spellings of the names in the two, the possibility of its being that of an ordinary person cannot be ruled out.[1]

Rudradeva

A clay seal of Rudradeva has been found at Jhusi.[2] He has been identified with Śrī Rudra of certain copper coins[3] and further with the homonymous king mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.[4] Rudradeva also occurs as a legend on a seal-stamp found at Nandpur, near Nagpur.[5] The use of semi-precious stone as material, the *deva*-ending in the name, and the letters showing the Deccan style of writing, led Jayaswal to suggest the identification of this Rudradeva with the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena.[6] The identification, however, is doubtful.

Bhavadeva

We may here mention a carnelian seal from Nandpur bearing the legend *Bhavadeva*.[7] It is tempting to suggest the identification of this king with Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva dynasty. There is, however, hardly anything to suggest that Bhavadeva of the seal was a king.[8]

Maheśvaranāga

The Lahore copper signet bears the legend *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭaputra-Maheśvaranāga*,[9] '*Mahārāja*, Maheśvaranāga, son of Nāgabhaṭa'.[10] There is a couchant bull and a crescent in the upper field and a snake below

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1. Even the reading *Mattila* has been doubted and read as *Hattiya* and *Hattipa*. Earlier, Growse suggested *Sattila* (*IA*, XVIII (1889), p. 289).
2. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 6.
3. For coins with the legend *Śrī Rudra*, see *JNSI*, XI, pp. 13-14, pl. III, 6.
4. *CII*, III, No. 1, p. 7, line 21 (text).
5. *JNSI*, III, p. 101, illustration no. 3 on p. 99; also *JBORS*, XX, p. 6, no. 9. In the latter, the find-spot is given as Nagardhana which is incorrect (See *JNSI*, III, p. 101).
6. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XX, p. 6.
7. *JNSI*, III, pp. 101-02.
8. See also Mirashi, *ibid.*, p. 102.
9. *CII*, III, no. 77, pp. 282-83, pl. XLVIIIA.
10. The adjective *mahārāja* may also be connected with Nāgabhaṭa.

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(pl. VII, 2). Maheśvaranāga, in all probability, belonged to a Nāga family and on the basis of palaeography he may be placed in *circa* second half of the fourth century A. D. It is, however, difficult to determine the territory over which he ruled.

Vākāṭaka rulers

The seal of the Poona Copper-plate of Prabhāvatiguptā bears the legend :

1. *Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya*
2. *[kra]ma-prāpta-nṛipaśriya(ḥ)*
3. *jananyā yuvarājasya*
4. *śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsa[na](m).*[1]

"A charter of the mother of *yuvarāja* who is the ornament of the Vākāṭakas, who has attained the royal dignity by inheritance (is) a charter (for the observance of even her) enemies."[2] In the text of the copper-plate inscription, the date of issue—thirteenth year—is given, obviously of the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā during the minority of her eldest son *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena.

The seals of Pravarasena II on Chammak,[3] Siwani,[4] Pavani,[5] Tirodi,[6] Pattan[7] and Dudia[8] Copper-plates bear a four-lined legend identical with that on the Poona Copper-plate seal of Prabhāvatiguptā except that the third line reads *Rājñaḥ Pravarasenasya*. Pravarasena II ruled sometime in the middle of the fifth century A. D. His records, ranging between his regnal years 2 and 27, have been found at different places.

Kings of Brahmapura

The seals attached to the two Taleshwar (Almora District) copper-plates,[9]

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1. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 435.
2. The translation in the main runs on the lines of Fleet (*CII*, III, p. 240).
3. *Ibid.*, no. 55, pp. 235-43.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 56, pp. 243-49.
5. *EI*, XXII, pp. 167 ff. pl. facing p. 173.
6. *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 81ff., at p. 88 and pl.
7. *Ibid.*, III pp. 258ff, pl. facing p. 261.
8. Kolte, V. B., *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika, 1968*, 1969, pp. 20-30.
9. *EI*, XIII, pp. 109-21. According to Gupte, the seals are cast from the original matrice on plates that are forged (*ibid.*, pp. 110-13). In his opinion the plates appear to have

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one belonging to Dyutivarman and the other to his son Vishṇuvarman (II), bear identical symbols—a bull, a Garuḍa, a serpent, etc., and the legend, tentatively read by Gupte as[1]:

1. *Vishṇuvarmma-prapa(au)ttrasya po(au)ttrasya Vṛishavarmmaṇa(ḥ)*
2. *Śry-Agni-varmma-sutasyeha śāsana(ṁ) Dvijavarmmaṇa(ḥ)*[2]
3. *....nuggrah-ārtthāya sādhu-saṁrakshaṇāya cha*
4. *Somavaṅśodbhavo rājā jayatyamita-vikrama(ḥ)*

We thus get the following genealogy: Vishṇuvarman—Vṛishavarman—Agnivarman—Dvijavarman(?). Dyutivarman, the issuer of the first plate (A), is undoubtedly identical with the homonym mentioned in the second (B) as the father of Vishṇuvarman (II). The name of the father of the issuer of the seals and that of Dyutivarman, as mentioned in the plates, was Agnivarman.[3] It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that the author of the seals (Dvijavarman?) and Dyutivarman are identical. It has, however, been pointed out by Gupte[4] that the letters of the seals are in the fifth century characters and those on plates of the sixth or seventh century A. D. This palaeographic difference may perhaps be due to the fact that the letters on the (original) seal were carved within a limited space with much artistry and care which was not bestowed on those of the plates. In this case, the seal attached to Vishṇuvarman's charter originally belonged to some plate of his father.

But if the issuer of the seals (Dvijavarman?) and Dyutivarman were two different persons, then the palaeographic difference may be due to a time-lag and this can be understood from the text of the plates which states that the gifts had been made by the ancestors of Dyutivarman (plate A) and Agnivar-

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been forged between the middle of the sixth and the second quarter of the seventh century (*ibid.*, p. 113). He dates the original seal to fifth century A. D. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that they have been regarded as forged without sufficient justification (*AIK*, p. 131, fn. 46).

1. *Ibid.*, p. 115, pls. facing pp. 114 and 115. The genealogy given in the plate differs slightly from that on the seals. In the seals it begins with Vishṇuvarman and in the plates with Agnivarman. The name of the grantor is Dyutivarman on plates while it seems to read as Dvijavarman on the seals (*ibid.*, p. 115).
2. Gupte suggests that it can also be read as *Dveshavarmmaṇa*[*ḥ*]. He also suggests other possibilities (*ibid.*, fn. 1).
3. In plate B the reading is Aśnivarman (*ibid.*, p. 118, line 4) which seems to have been a slip for Agnivarman.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 112-13.

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man (plate B), but the records had been burnt by fire and the plates under discussion were provided by the kings at the request of the rightful owners of the gifts who were very keen to have a valid documentary proof in support of their ownership lest some 'bad persons being beset by the evil influence of the Kali age, might lay hands on (those gifts) if there be no written record.'[1] The seals would indicate that the original grant was made by Dvijavarman. His records got burnt but the seals remained preserved and the applicants for the new written records seem to have sent these seals with their applications (one during the rule of Dyutivarman and another that of Vishṇuvarman II). The royal officers, either to avoid botheration of preparing casts of the seals of ruling kings or with a view to indicate that the grants had originally been made by Dvijavarman(?), attached these to the new plates. If this interpretation be accepted, we can postulate that a few rulers intervened between Dvijavarman and Agnivarman I, the father of Dyutivarman.

The kings have been referred to on the seals as of the lineage of Moon, and on the plates as 'of the line of Moon and Sun'[2] and also of the Paurava line. On the seals, the kings are not credited with any epithets. On the plates, Agnivarman, the father of Dyutivarman is mentioned without any title in the first (A) plate but with *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārāja* in the second(B) plate; Dyutivarman is credited with the title of *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* in the first plate and simply *mahārājādhirājā* in the second; Vishṇuvarman(II) has the epithet *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* in his plate(B). The epithet *mahārājādhirāja* suggests independent status for the rulers. There is paucity of records about the ancient kings of Almora-Garhwal region and the addition of the names of these rulers to the little-known history of that region is not unwelcome.

Parivrājaka Mahārājas—Hastin and Saṁkshobha

The seal attached to the Khoh Copper-plate of *Mahārāja* Hastin, year 156 (A. D. 475), bears the legend *Śrī-Mahārāja-Hastinaḥ*.[3] The one attached to the Majhagawan Coper-plate (dated 191 in the Gupta era) is said to have borne the legend *Śrīr-mmahārāja Hastinaḥ*.[4] While the other attached

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1. *EI*, XIII, p. 117; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 120.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 112.
3. *CII*, III, no. 21, p. 94.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 23, p. 106. The seal is now missing.

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by a ring to the Khoh Copper-plate of *Mahārāja* Saṁkshobha is much worn out and the legend is illegible.[1]

The Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* ruled in the modern Baghelkhand regions and issued land grants 'during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta emperors' without mentioning the names of their overlords. This indicates that they were perhaps virtually independent, though, in theory, still owing allegiance to the Gupta monarchs.

Lakshmaṇa

The brass seal on a copper ring fastened to the Pali Copper-plate of *Mahārāja* Lakshmaṇa[2] dated *Saṁvat* 158 (in all probability Gupta era=A. D. 477) shows the figure of a lion and the legend *Śrī-Mahārāja-Lakshmaṇasya*. This ruler is not known from any other source except another copper-plate from Rewa.[3] He ruled with his capital at Jayapura (not yet identified). No reference to Gupta sovereignty has been made in his plates. If this omission was deliberate, it suggests that he was an independent king, or, at least, a *de facto* one[4]; if it was inadvertent, he might have been a feudatory of Budhagupta.[5]

Śarvanātha of the Uchchakalpa dynasty

A rectangular seal attached to the Khoh Copper-plate of *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha, year 193,[6] has been damaged by fire. The upper field shows Garuḍa with wings out-stretched and the lower the legend *Mahārāja Śa*[*r*]*va*[*nā*]*tha*. *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha was the son of *Mahārāja* Jayanātha. Kings of this dynasty had their capital at Uchchakalpa. Their kingdom was contiguous to that of the Parivrājaka kings. Whereas the latter make only a general reference to the sovereignty of the Guptas in their records, the kings of Uchchakalpa do not mention even that.

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1. *CII*, III, no. 25, p. 112.
2. *EI*, II, pp. 363-65, pl. facing p. 364.
3. *ASIAR*, 1936-37, p. 68. The plate also bears a seal which has been covered with verdigris (*ibid.*).
4. Cf. *Classical Age*, p. 31.
5. Cf. Sinha, *DKM*, p. 76.
6. *CII*, III, no. 28, p. 125, pl. XVIII.

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Seal of Bhīmasena (II)

The Arang (Raipur District) copper-plate seal of Bhīmavarman II[1] bears the device of a lion and the legend: *Śrī-Mahārāja-Bhīmasenasya.* The grant is dated in the Gupta year 282 (=A. D. 601) and furnishes the genealogy of the dynasty for six generations: Bhīmasena (II)-the issuer of the grant, his father Dayitavarman (II), his father Bhīmasena (I)—his father Vibhīshaṇa, his father Dayita (I) and his father Śūra. All the kings have been credited with the title of *mahārāja.* The dynasty seems to have been founded in the second half of the fifth century A. D. and ruled in the northern part of South Kosala.[2]

Kings of Śarabhapura

1. *Narendra*

The seal on the ring of the Pipardula (on the western borders of the former Sarangarh State) Copper-plate[3] of king Narendra bears the device of Gajalakshmī and the legend:

1. *Khaḍgadhārājitabhuvaḥ Śara[bhātprā]ptajanmanaḥ*
2. *NṛipatesŚrī-Narendrasya śāsanaṁ ripuśāsina[ḥ].*

The legend purports that Narendra, the issuer of the charter, was the son of Śarabha and eulogises him for his prowess. The Kurud copper-plate seal of this ruler bears a similar device and the legend which is badly mutilated.[4]

2. *Jayarāja*

The Arang Copper-plate seal of king Jayarāja bears the device of Gajalakshmī and has the legend:

1. *Prasanna-h[ṛida]yasyaiya vikkramākkrā[ṁ]tta vidvisha[ḥ]*
2. *Śrīmato Jayarājasya śāsa[naṁ] ripu-śāsanaṁ.*[5]

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1. *EI*, IX, pp. 342-45.
2. *Classical Age*, p. 218.
3. *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 139ff. and pl. facing p. 144.
4. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 263-66, pl. facing p. 265.
5. *CII*, III, no. 40, pp. 191, 193, pl. XXVI.

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The purport of the legend has been discussed in the following chapter. The Mallar copper-plate seal[1] of this ruler bears a similar legend but has *tanayasya* for *hṛidayasya* and *vikkramotkhāta* for *vikkramākkrāṁta*. An identical legend appears on the seal of this ruler attached to the rings of Sirpur Copper-plate of Sudevarāja.[2]

3. *Sudevarāja*

The Raipur and Arang Copper-plate seals of Sudevarāja[3] bear the same device and have practically the same legend, as the Arang copper-plate seal of Jayarāja; the only important change being that of *Sudevarājasya* instead of *Jayarājasya*. The Khariar copper-plate seal[4] of this ruler bears a similar device and the legend :

1. *Prasannārṇava saṁbhūta-Mānamātrendu-janmanaḥ*
2. *Srīma[t-Sude]varājasya sthiraṁ jagati śāsanaṁ.*

According to the legend of the seal, Sudevarāja was a son of Mānamātra, who was a descendant of Prasanna (probably his son). The Kauvatal plates[5] of this ruler bears a similar device and the legend of which the second line is identical with the previous one and the first line reads as *kramādhigata rājyasya vikramotkhāta-vidvisha(ḥ)*.

4. *Pravararāja*

The Thakurdiya and the Mallar Copper-plate seals[6] of Pravararāja also show the device of Gajalakshmī and bears the legend:

Mānamātra[su]tasyedaṁ sva[bhu]jopārjjitakshiteḥ
[Śrī]mat-Pravararājasya śāsana[ṁ] śatruśāsana[ṁ][7]

The legend mentions Pravararāja as the son of Mānamātra and extols him as one who had conquered the earth by his own arms. Dr. Mirashi ascribes this ruler to the beginning of the sixth century A. D.[8] Śarabha, Narendra,

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1. *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 28-31, pl. facing p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 103ff, pl. facing p. 107.
3. *CII*, no. 41, pp. 196-97, pl. XXVII ; *EI*, XXIII, pp. 18-22.
4. *EI*, IX, p. 173, pl. facing p. 173.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 214-16.
6. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 15-23, seal illustrated on pl. facing p. 23 ; XXIV, pp. 51-52, pl. II.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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Jayarāja, Sudevarāja and Pravararāja belonged to a family of rulers with their capital at Śarabhapura, not yet satisfactorily identified, though different writers have located it at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places.[1] In epigraphs, the last three have been referred to as Mahā Jayarāja, Mahā Sudevarāja and Mahā Pravararāja respectively.[2]

On palaeographic grounds, the Pipardula grant has been considered to be earlier than other records of this family.[3] Śarabha and Narendra of this record should, therefore, be placed earlier in the chronological scheme of kings of this family. Śarabha seems to have been the founder of the city, Śarabhapura, and is perhaps identical with Śarabharāja, maternal grand-father of Goparāja who died fighting for king Bhānugupta in A. D. 510 at Eran.[4]

The Mallar copper-plate-seal of Vyāghrarāja[5] shows, in the upper field, a *chakra*, the head of an animal (probably lion) to front and a *śaṅkha* and beneath is the legend *Śrī Vyāghrarājaḥ* in *circa* sixth century characters. There is yet another symbol, perhaps the forepart of an elephant, below the legend.

The grant was issued from Prasannapura, probably named after Prasanna or Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura. *Pūrva-rāshṭra*, the district referred to in the charter and where the granted land was situated, also finds mention in the Arang copper-plates of Jayarāja and Raipur plates of Sudevarāja.

Vyāghrarāja, the issuer of the grant, is stated to have been the younger brother of the then ruling king, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jayabhaṭṭāraka. The last-mentioned one seems to be the same personage as Jayarāja of Śarabhapura. Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka cannot be identified with Pravararāja, who was a son of the brother of Jayarāja.

Perhaps Gajalakshmī was the exclusive insignia of the Śarabhapura kings and Vyāghrarāja, a prince only, was not entitled to use it; he, therefore, used a different device. The evidence of seals, epigraphs and coins, taken together, suggests the following genealogical and chronological scheme for the family:

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1. See *Classical Age*, p. 219.
2. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 142.
3. Shri Ballabh Saran, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, kindly sent us a select bibliography of the kings of Śarabhapur.
4. See Eran St. P. Ins. of the time of Bhānugupta (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 345-46).
5. *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 45-50, pl. facing p. 49.

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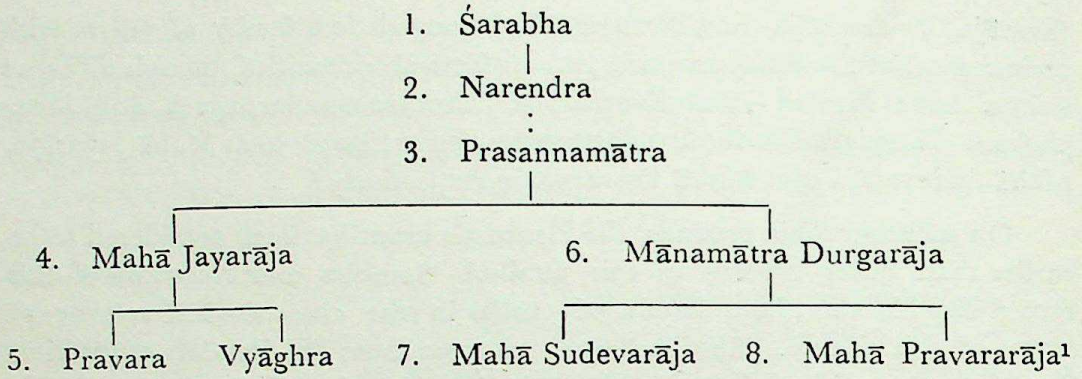

Tīvaradeva, a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī King of Kosala

The Rajim, Bonda and Baloda Copper-plate seals of *Rājā* Tīvaradeva[2] bear a Garuḍa, a serpent, a *śaṅkha*, a *chakra* and a floral device. The legend reads :

1. *Śrīmat-Tīvaradevasya Kosalādhipateridaṁ*
2. *śāsanaṁ dharmma-vṛidhyarthaṁ sthiramāchandratārakam.*

Tīvaradeva has been designated as a King of Kosala i. e. South Kosala. He was a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī (also called Somavaṁśī) king and has been variously assigned to the fifth,[3] second half of the sixth[4] and eighth centuries A. D.,[5] the last being rather improbable. He was the son of king Nannadeva,[6] and a Vaishṇava, as evident from the symbols on the seal.

Pushyeṇa

A clay stamp found in the neighbourhood of the ruins of Wala, Kathiawar, exhibits the sun and the moon as symbols and has the following four-lined legend in the reverse characters:

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1. The actual name was Pravara and hence may be called Pravara II.
2. For Rajim plates see *CII*, III, no. 81, pp. 291 ff., pl. XLV ; for Bonda plates, *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 111-16, pl. facing p. 115 ; for Baloda plates See *EI*, VII, pp. 102-07.
3. Cunningham gives A. D. 425 as a specific date (*CII*, III, p. 293).
4. *Classical Age*, p. 220.
5. *CII*, III, p. 294.
6. *EI*, XXXIV, p. 113.

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Ā Jayadrathādavyavachchhinarāja-
vaṁśasya Śrīrmmahārāj-Āhivarmma-
sūno Mahārāja-mahā[senā?]
pati-Pushyeṇa[sya].[1]

It purports as to be a "(Seal) of the *Mahārāja* (and great commander) Pushyeṇa,[2] son of the illustrious prince Ahivarman, whose royal pedigree extends back unbroken to Jayadratha."[3] The names, Ahivarman and Pushyeṇa, are not known from any other source. The find of this record in Kathiawar does not necessarily indicate that the prince belonged to that region. According to Bühler, the palaeography is similar to that found on the land-grants of Dhruvasena I of Valabhī.[4]

Kings with names ending in Siṁha

1. *Īśānasiṁha*

Three sealings[5] of Īśānasiṁha have been found at Nalanda, of which one (pl. III, 4)[6] is complete. It shows the figure of a lion with a crescent in front of it and the sun above its neck.[7] Below the crescent is a *chakra*[8] flanked by a *śaṅkha* on either side. Still below occurs a three-lined legend in late Gupta characters:

1. *Varṇṇāśrama-dharmma-vidaḥ sva-guṇābhyudayānu*
2. *raṁjita-prakṛiteḥ*[9] *Śrīśānasiṁha nṛipate*
3. *rjjayati jagatprītaye lakshma.*

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1. Hultzsch in *IA*, XXXVIII, p. 145. Bühler read *Jayaskandha* for *Jayadratha* (*IA*, XII, pp. 274-75). See also *Imperial Gazetteer of India, the Indian Empire*, II, p. 39.
2. Pushyeṇa, as a name, sounds curious; Pushya, however, is quite common.
3. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, II, p. 39.
4. *IA*, XII, p. 274.
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 71, nos. S. 1, 841, 670, 349, pl. IX, e.
6. No. S. 1, 841 (*ibid.*).
7. According to H. Sastri, the crescent suggests that the king belonged to lunar dynasty (*ibid.*, p. 71); but the sun and the moon together indicate the idea—'as long as sun and moon last' which occurs quite frequently in epigraphs.
8. Sastri identifies it as 'sun-flower'.
9. The *visarga* sign is not clear in the plate but Sastri says that on two others (nos. 670 and 349) it is quite clear (*ibid.*, p. 71, fn. 3).

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Lakshma here means a token or seal. The epithets eulogising Īśānasiṁha as well as other kings of this dynasty have been discussed in the following chapter.

2. *Paśupatisiṁha*

The sealings of Paśupatisiṁha[1] from the same site bear identical devices and the legend:

1. *Vijitārātigaṇasya nyāyavato rāja-*
2. *vṛitti-nipuṇasya sva-guṇābharaṇasya*
3. *Śrī-Paśupatisiṁhasya lakshmedam*

The legend eulogises the king for his prowess and qualities of head and heart.[2]

3. *Devasiṁha*

Two sealings (nos. 795 and 815) of Devasiṁha[3] have been found at the same site. They show a lion seated on his hind legs in front of a *śaṅkha*. The legend reads exactly like that on the seal of Paśupatisiṁha except that it has *Devasiṁhasya* in place of *Paśupatisiṁhasya* and that no. 795 does not have *lakshmedam* at the end.[4]

4. *Sāgarasiṁha*

Sealing no. S. I. 822 from the same site[5] shows a lion seated as in the above-mentioned seals. There is a symbol near the mouth of the animal. The legend reads: *Śrī-Sāgarasiṁhasya*.[6]

The identity of the devices clearly demonstrates that Īśānasiṁha and Paśupatisiṁha were members of the same family. Although some of the minor symbols found on the seal of Devasiṁha differ, yet the similarity of the main symbols and the fact that the legend on Devasiṁha's seal is almost identical with that on the seal of Paśupatisiṁha, suggest their family affinity. The *siṁha*-ending name and the lion device (though without other details) suggest even

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1. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 72, nos. S. 1, 687, 842 and 840. There are fragments of four more seals. For illustration, see *EI*, XXI, pl. III, D, (facing p. 76).
2. The purport of the legend has been discussed in the following chapter.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 72.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 72, text and fn.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 72, pl. IXf.
6. This correction is made by Chakravarti to Sastri's reading *Śrī-Sāgarāmātyaḥ* (*ibid.*, p. 72).

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the inclusion of Sāgarasiṁha in this family.[1] All these must have been petty chiefs ruling in the sixth or the seventh century A. D.

Dhruvadatta and Śivadatta

Two sealings, one each of Dhruvadatta[2] and Śivadatta (or Śarvadatta),[3] have been unearthed at Kauśāmbī. These have been assigned to the second quarter of the sixth century A. D. on palaeographic grounds.[4] If they were rulers of Kauśāmbī, as they have been taken to be,[5] then they would have flourished after the Hūṇas were overthrown by kings Bālāditya and Yaśodharman.

Hūṇa Kings

1. *Toramāṇa and Mihirakula*

The seal of Toramāṇa restruck on that of the Ghoshitārāma monastery (pl. XXII, 2)[6] has been found at Kauśāmbī, a site which has also yielded another sealing with the legend *Hūṇarāja*, most probably referring to the same monarch.[7]

Toramāṇa led a successful expedition in India and became master of a large part of Northern India. Earlier, a Hūṇa invasion of India had met a crushing defeat at the hands of Skandagupta.[8] Toramāṇa of the sealing may also be identified with the *Mahārāja Toramāṇa Shāhi Jaūvla* of the Kura (Salt Range, Punjab) inscription.[9] The Eran Stone Boar inscription of his time[10] (regnal year-1) indicates that the area around Saugar passed to him.

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1. It has been suggested that Īśānasiṁha was a predecessor of Paśupatisiṁha (*ibid.*). It is, however, difficult to be sure about their chronological positions.
2. *IAR*, 1954-55, p. 18, pl. XXXIIC.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. See Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, pp. 15-16.
7. *IAR*, 1954-55, p. 18, pl. XXXIIB.
8. *Vide* the evidence of Bhitari St. P. Ins. of Skandagupta (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 321-24, line 15 on p. 323).
9. *EI*, I, pp. 238ff.
10. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 421-22.

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This would have been almost immediately after Budhagupta[1] whose last known date is G. E. 175 (=A. D. 495).[2] The Ghoshitārāma monastery seal and the seal of Toramāṇa on one and the same clay lump were obviously struck within a very short time when the clay was still moist. The seal-impressions therefore, orginated at Kauśāmbī itself where, undoubtedly, the Ghoshitārāma monastery existed[3]; it did not come from outside as argued by some.[4] The sealings suggest that Kauśāmbī fell to the onslaught of the Hūṇa king which fact seems to be attested to by the arrow-heads of a particular (named as'k') type from the same site which have been referred to as instruments of massacre pillage and unprecedented devastations connected with the Hūṇa invasion.[5] Numismatic evidence suggests Toramāṇa's rule over parts of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Kashmir. According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,[6] he extended his influence upto Varanasi and conquered territories as far as Magadha.[7] Some information regarding him is to be met with in other literary works.[8]

A seal of Mihirakula has been reported to have been obtained from Kauśāmbī.[9] He was a son and successor of Toramāṇa and, like his father, is known from inscriptions,[10] literary works,[11] and coins.[12] He is said to

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1. Dhanyavishṇu was governing the area around Eran under Toramāṇa (*vide* Eran St. Boar Ins. of the time of Toramāṇa, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 421). Earlier his elder brother Mātṛivishṇu governed the same area under Budhagupta (*vide* Eran St. P. Ins. of Budhagupta, *ibid.*, pp. 334-36).
2. Known from his silver coins (*CCGD*, p. 153).
3. See also Chap. IV.
4. Chattopadhaya, *EHNI*, p. 334, Appendix 1. He maintains that the Gangetic Valley was conquered by Mihirakula and not by Toramāṇa.
5. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, pp. 15-16, 21, 37 and 46.
6. See, *Imperial History of India*, p. 57, Sanskrit text; also English translation and comments on p. 64.
7. For a different view, see Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, p. 334.
8. E.g. *Kuvalayamālā* of Udayana Sūri, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhṇa. See also *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 196-197; Thakur, *Hūṇas in India*, pp. 108-111.
9. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, Ist ed., p. 197. There is, however, no reference to the seal of Mihirakula in Prof. Sharma's *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, nor has it been reported in any number of *IAR* ; cf. also Thakur, *Hūṇas in India*, p. 144, text and fn.
10. The Gwalior St. Ins., Yr. 15 (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 424-26); The Mandasor St. P. Ins. of Yaśodharman (*ibid.*, pp. 418-20). Two small inscriptions from Uruzgan in Central Afghanistan (See Thakur, *Hūṇas in India*, p. 139).
11. The accounts of the Chinese traveller Sung Yun; *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas Indikopleustes; *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen-tsang; the *Āryamañjusrīmūlakalpa*; the *Rājatrraṅgiṇī*, etc. See *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 195ff. and Thakur, *Hūṇas in India*, pp. 140-44.
12. *Vide* Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40.

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have been an indomitable warrior, a blood thirsty and cruel tyrant and a ruthless persecutor of Buddhists but was defeated by Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya[1] and Yaśodharman.[2]

2. *Hūṇa king whose name is missing*

Two Nalanda sealings[3] give the genealogy of a ruler whose name is missing. The first one is less fragmentary and shows part of a device, apparently Vishṇu riding a Garuḍa. The genealogy runs as below :

Mahārāja Lavkhāṇa[4]
Mahārājādhirāja..... = Vittavvade(vī)
Mahārāja Jarīva[5] = Melyādevī
Mahārājādhirāja.....
..... (issuer of the sealing).

The legend starts in the manner of the Maukhari seals[6] but, perhaps, these kings had nothing to do with that dynasty. The names are un-Indian and suggest their affinity with foreigners. The identification of Lavkhāṇa and Jarīva of the Nalanda seals with Hūṇa Lakhāṇa and Jarī ... of the coins[7] has been suggested[8] and the kings mentioned in these sealings should, therefore, be taken as Hūṇas. The palaeography of the seal-and coin-legends is also similar suggesting the same period for both seals and coins.[9]

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1. *Vide*, Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, pp. 288-89.
2. *Vide* Mandasor, St. P. Ins. of Yaśodharman, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 418ff., at p. 419, text line 6.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 70, pl. IX, c-d.
4. Sastri reads *Lakshmaṇa* (*ibid.*, p. 70), but the editor of this *Memoir* corrects it to *Lavkhāṇa* (*ibid.*, p. 70, fn. 8).
5. Sastri reads it as Jarā....(*ibid.*, p. 71). The editor of it points out that there is a partly preserved *vva* after *ra* (*ibid.*, fn. 1). For the above reading see *IHQ*, XIX, p. 188.
6. It begins with (*chatu*)*ssamudrātikkrānta-kīrtti*(*ḥ*) etc. (*MASI*, 66, p. 70).
7. For the coins of Lakhaṇa (read as Lakhāṇa by Ghosh, in *IHQ*, XIX, p. 188fn.), see Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 111, pl. VII, 12 and for those of Jarī.. *ibid.*, pp. 98-114, pl. VIII, 11-14.
8. Ghosh in *IHQ*, XIX, p. 188. According to Stein, Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (III, 383) may be identical with the king Laḥkhaṇa Udayāditya of coins [*Rājataraṅgiṇī* (trans.), I, p. 52]. This text, however, says that he was succeeded by his brother Tuñjina Raṇāditya, but, according to our seal, by his son ; the names of successive queens also differ. Cf. also *IHQ*, XIX, p. 89.
9. Thakur, *Hūṇas in India*, p. 197.

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It has been suggested that (i) the Hūṇas—either the descendants of Mihirakula[1] or his chiefs[2]—continued to rule over Nalanda and adjoining regions even after the withdrawal of that monarch and (ii) that they were finally wiped off from these regions by Īśanavarman Maukhari.[3] As regards the first contention, the find of a single sealing, which by its very nature can travel to distant places, need not necessarily be taken as proof of that dynasty having ruled over regions around Nalanda. As to the second, we have to bear in mind that the coins of Lavkhāṇa and Jarī have been found in Kashmir and not at Nalanda and should, therefore, be taken to be rulers of Kashmir rather than that of region around Nalanda. If, at all, the evidence of the two sealings be taken as suggestive of the rule of its author in and around Nalanda, then he himself or his immediate predecessor conquered that region from some one else. Since the title *mahārāja* and *mahārājādhirāja* were, in this period, generally suggestive of the position of subordinate and independent powerful kings respectively, it seems that there was fluctuation in the status of the kings of this dynasty.

It is argued that the legend on the sealing discussed above "....gives the name of *mahārājas*....but curiously enough, omits the name of the *mahārājādhirājas*....It is difficult to determine the factors responsible for this act of omission and commission....."[4] The seal, as stated above, is fragmentary and the names have not been left out but were on that part which has been broken and is missing.

Kings of the Imperial Gupta dynasty

Seals and sealings belonging to Śrīgupta, Samudragupta, Ghaṭotkachagupta, Budhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta (II or III), Vishṇugupta and Vainyagupta have been discovered and throw new light on the genealogy and chronology of the Imperial Guptas. But some of these have also given rise to controversies regarding the identification and status of some of the rulers[5] and generally a cloud of uncertainty hangs over the history, geneology and reign-periods of the later Imperial Gupta kings.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The identifications of Śrīgupta and Ghaṭotkachagupta of the seals with rulers of the Imperial Gupta house are, however, not beyond doubt.

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1. *Śrīgupta or Gupta*

Two sealings in the Indian Museum, nos. 4681-A12865 (pl. 111,6) and 4671-A12859, from Sunet (Ludhiana District) bear the legend *Śrīrguptasya* in deep incuse in characters of *circa* third or fourth century A. D. The first does not contain any device while the second bears the device of a *triśūla*. A few sealings of the type mentioned first, from the same site, are in the collection of Shri G. B. Sharma of the Indian Air Force and one of these has been published recently.[1] It is, no doubt, tempting to identify Śrīgupta of the sealings with *Mahārāja* Śrīgupta, the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. However, the find-spot[2] and the absence of any royal epithet do not lend support to this view. More doubtful would be the identification of *Gupta* (legend *Gutasya* in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit) of a British Museum seal with this first Gupta ruler. There is a great controversy as to whether the name of the first Gupta king was Śrīgupta or simply Gupta, *Śrī* being an honorific prefix in the latter case. As pointed out by Dr. Chhabra, *Gupta* occurs as a name of Vishṇu in the *Vishṇusahasranāma*.[3]

2. *Gaya Copper-plate seal of Samudragupta*

The seal of the Gaya Copper-plate of Samudragupta bearing the device of Garuḍa (represented as a bird) standing with wings spread out has a badly mutilated legend of five lines of which the only decipherable word *Sam(u)drag[u]ptaḥ* occurs at the end of the last line.[4] The characters on the seal are different from those on the plate. The seal seems to be a genuine one, detached from some copper-plate of Samudragupta, and attached to the present plate which is generally regarded spurious.[5]

3. *Parākrama sealing from Sunet*

A Sunet sealing (pl. XXXVI, 7) bearing the figure of a horse with *yūpa* in front and the legend *parākrama*—an epithet characteristic of Samudragupta—in all probability, belongs to him.[6]

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1. *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 98-99.
2. It is generally believed that the territories of the Guptas described in the Purāṇas as confined to the area including Magadha, Prayāga and Sāketa denote the extent of the kingdom of Chandragupta I. See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 531.
3. *JNSI*, pp. 141-42. The British Museum sealing also supports the view that Gupta itself was the name. Cf. the names *Datta*, *Śarma*, *Varmma*, etc. in Chapter VIII.
4. *CII*, III, p. 255, pl. facing p. 256.
5. See *ibid.*, III, pp. 255-56.
6. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 102, no. 3. This seal is also discussed in Chapter III 'Polity and Administration'.

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4. *Basarh sealing of Dhruvasvāminī*

It refers to Dhruvasvāminī (*i.e.* Dhruvadevī) as queen of *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta and mother of *Mahārāja* Govindagupta.[1] The fact that Dhruvadevī is mentioned as mother of Govindagupta (and not of Kumāragupta) has given rise to the suggestion that he was perhaps a *yuvarāja*. Govindagupta of the sealing is generally identified with the homonym mentioned in a Mandasor inscription.[2] The hyperbolic bombast used in the Mandasor inscription regarding the achievements of Govindagupta has further led certain scholars to suggest that his status was that of a king (and not of a governor[3]) and should have ruled between G. E. 93 and 96 for which period we have no records of either Chandragupta II or Kumāragupta I. An alternate suggestion is that he revolted during the reign of Kumāragupta I. The Mandasor inscription alludes to Indra being suspicious of Govindagupta's power and Indra has been identified with Kumāragupta I whose title was Mahendra. The evidence, however, is not conclusive.

5. *Basarh sealing of Ghaṭotkachagupta*

The sealing bears the legend *Śrī-Ghaṭotkachaguptasya.*[4] The honorific prefix *Śrī* might suggest that Ghaṭotkachagupta of the sealing was an important person.[5] The possible identification of Ghaṭotkachagupta of our sealing with the second king of the Gupta dynasty has been suggested by some scholars.[6] It should, however, be noted that the latter is invariably mentiond in the official records of the Guptas simply as Ghaṭotkacha, and not Ghaṭotkachagupta, and, also Basarh (Vaiśālī), the find-spot of the seal, does not seem to have formed a part of the Gupta kingdom during his reign.[7]

Ghaṭotkachagupta of our sealing is very possibly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the Tumain fragmentary inscription of

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1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 187.
3. *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 286-89 ; *IC*, XI, p. 231 ; *PIHC*, 1960, pp. 50-55 ; All Ind. Or. Conf., Varanasi Session, 1968, Summaries of the papers, p. 135 ; *EHNI*, p. 214.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 2, pl. XLI, no. 14.
5. It is difficult to follow Mookerji who holds that Ghaṭotkacha is mentioned as *Kumārāmātya* in Basarh seals (*Gupta Empire*, p. 12). We know of only one seal of Ghaṭotkachagupta and that is devoid of any title.
6. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04 p. 107 ; Smith, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 153 ; Basak, *HNEI*, pp. 6-7.
7. This, however, is not a forceful argument as the seal could be stamped on a letter dispatched to even beyond one's territories.

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G. E. 116 (A. D. 435-36)[1] where he is mentioned immediately after Kumāragupta. He is stated to have won great fame by the prowess of his arms, following in the footsteps of his ancestors. The date of the inscription falls within the reign of Kumāragupta I. As such, Ghaṭotkachagupta was probably a son or a brother of Kumāragupta I and a viceroy in the eastern parts of Malwa[2] for some time. The sealing suggests that he had also been an officer at Vaiśālī. He has further been identified with the issuer of the coin in St. Petersberg Collection which bears on the obverse the word *Ghaṭo* beneath the king's arm and the marginal legend ending in *(gu)pta(ḥ)*; on the reverse it has the legend *kramādityaḥ*.[3] If this surmise be correct, he might also have unsuccessfully contended for the imperial crown against Skandagupta.[4]

6. *Nalanda sealing of Budhagupta*

A Nalanda fragmentary sealing of Budhagupta[5] gives the same genealogy of the Gupta kings from Śrīgupta to Kumāragupta I as is also noticed in other official records. After Kumāragupta, it mentions Purugupta and Budhagupta as direct successors in order.[6]

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1. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 116, 117 (text).
2. *Vide* Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I and Ghaṭotkachagupta, G.E. 116 (=A.D. 435), *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 297-99, particularly p. 298, fn. 1. Cf. also Mookerji, *Gupta Empire*, p. 73.
3. Allan, *CCGD*, intro. p. liv, pl. XXIV, 3.
4. *Vide* Altekar, *CGE*, p. 265. It is also possible that he outlived Skandagupta for a short period, assumed independence and issued coins (*ibid.*, p. 266). Dr. B. N. Srivastava, however, places Ghaṭotkacha of the gold coin after Vainyagupta (*JUPHS (NS)*, X, pp. 30-31 text and fn.).
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 64.
6. The extant portion dealing with the relationship between Purugupta and Budhagupta reads:

   1.6....*hārājādhirāja Śrī Puruguptasta*
   1.7....*devyāmutpannaḥ*
   1.8....*Śrī Budhaguptaḥ*

   Though there is some gap between the names Purugupta and Budhagupta, yet an observtion of the seal clearly shows that there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between the names of Purugupta and Budhagupta (*IHQ*, XIX, p. 274). In the light of this information theories suggesting that Budhagupta might have been the son of Kumāragupta I as once suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, lst ed., p. 323, fn. 1) or that of Kumāragupta II (Basak, *HNEI*, p. 78) have to be rejected outright. The name of the mother of Budhagupta is not clear. Shri A. Ghosh suggests that it was Chandradevī (*IHQ*, XIX, p. 120).

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Budhagupta is known to have ruled from at least A. D. 476[1] to A. D. 495.[2] Epigraphs from Sarnath,[3] Damodarpur[4] and Eran[5] indicate his rule over those regions and, as such, the theory of the division of the Gupta empire before or during his reign[6] should be given a holiday.

7. *Two Nalanda sealings of Narasiṁhagupta*

Two fragmentary sealings (nos. S. I, 650 and 687)[7] of Narasiṁhagupta have been found at Nalanda. Although from different moulds, these contain similar inscriptions and device (Garuḍa figure). In the better-preserved one (no. 650), the genealogy, upto Kumāragupta I, runs similar to that found in official Gupta records. It adds Purugupta as a son of Kumāragupta I, born of *Mahādevī* Anantadevī, and then introduces Narasiṁhagupta, a son of Purugupta, born of Queen Chandradevī.[8]

8. *Bhitari seal and Nalanda sealings of Kumāragupta II or III*

A mixed copper and silver seal from Bhitari[9] and two clay sealings from Nalanda[10] (pl. VI, 1) belong to Kumāragupta (II or III). In spite of great uniformity in the device (Garuḍa in therianthropic form) and legend these two were made from different dies.[11] These contain Gupta genealogy from Śrīgupta to Kumāragupta (II or III) which, after Kumāragupta I, runs as below :

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1. *Vide* Sarnath Bud. Image Ins. of Budhagupta, G. E. 157 (=A. D. 476) (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 331).
2. Allan, *CCGD*, p. 153, no. 617, pl. XXIV, 13.
3. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 331.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-34.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-36.
6. E. g. in *EI*, XV, p. 120 ; Basak, *HNEI*, p. 63 ; *PIHC*, 1941, pp. 179-81 ; Altekar, *CGE*, p. 9 ; Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 6-7.
7. See *MASI*, 66, p. 65, pl. VII, b-c.
8. Sastri read it as Vainyadevī (*ibid.*, 66, p. 65) which was corrected to Chandradevī by the Editor (*ibid.*, p. 65, fn. 2). The legend from Purugupta onwards runs :
   1.6. . . . *hādevyām-Anantadevyāmutpannaḥ mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Puruguptasya pu*
   1.7. . . . *mahādevyāṁ Śrī-Chandradevyāmutpannaḥ paramabhāga.*
   1.8. . . . *ja Śrī Narasiṁhaguptaḥ.*
   See *IHQ*, XIX, p. 273.
9. *IA*, XIX, (1890), pp. 224 ff.
10. *MASI*, 66, pp. 65-66. no. S. I, 849, 843 and pl. VIII, d and e.
11. For instance, line 5 in the Bhitari seal ends in *mahārā* while the Nalanda ones in *mahā*. The eighth line of the Nalanda sealings, like the Bhitari one, starts with *vyāmutpannaḥ* and not with *paramabhāgavato* as read by Sastri in *ibid.*, p. 66.

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Purugupta=Chandradevī
|
Narasiṁhagupta=Mitradevī
|
Kumāragupta (II or III)

9. *Nalanda sealing of Vishṇugupta*

A fragmentary Nalanda sealing of Vishṇugupta[1] has the following genealogy on the extant portion :

Narasiṁhagupta
|
Kumāragupta
|
Vishṇugupta

10. *Nalanda sealing and Gunaighar copper-plate seal of Vainyagupta*

A small fragmentary clay sealing from Nalanda[2] mentions *Paramabhāgavata* Vainyagupta born of a *mahādevī*. The names of his father and grandfather are missing thereon but they end in *gupta*. The resemblance in the style of the legend with the seals of the Imperial Guptas, the *gupta*-ending of the names of the ruler and his two predecessors along with the epithet *paramabhāgavata*[3], all lead us to the obvious conclusion that Vainyagupta belonged to the Imperial Gupta family. He is generally identified with *Mahārāja* Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar (Tipperah District) plate of G. E. 188 (=A. D. 507).[4] The seal of the plate shows a recumbent bull and the inscription reads *Mahārāja-Śrī-Vai[nyaguptasya]*.[5] Vainyagupta of these

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1. (1) *hārājādh[i]r[ā]ja Śr[ī] [P]ū ruguptastasya putrastatpādānuāhyāto....*
   (2) *h[ā]r[ā]j[ā] dhirāja-Śrī Narasiṁha[guptas]tasya puttrastatpādānuddh[yā]t[o]*
   (3) *rājādhirāja Śrī-Kumāraguptas-tasya puttras-tatpādānuddhyāto Ma[hā]....*
   (4) *nnaḥ Paramabhāgavato Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vishṇug[u]ptaḥ.*
   See *EI*, XXVI, p. 239, and pl. facing it.
2. *MASI*, 66, p. 67, pl. VIII-f; *IHQ*, XIX, p. 275; *ibid.*, XXIV, p. 67. Dr. Nisar Ahmad proposed to read the name of the king as *Chandragupta* instead of *Vainyagupta* (*JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 44-45). This has been well refuted by Shri J. Agrawal (*ibid.*, XXX, pp. 206-07).
3. The legend reads: *...Guptastasya putrasta....stasya putrastatpādānudhyātaḥ Śrī....Guptastasya putrastatpādānudhyāto mahādevyāṁ....paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Vainyaguptaḥ* (*IHQ*, XIX, p. 275).
4. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 341 fn. It may, however, be noted that Vainygupta of the Nalanda seal is styled as *Mahārājādhirāja* whereas that of the copper-plate (both in the seal and the plate) as *mahārāja*, (*IHQ*, VI, p. 49) and, while the former is connoted as *paramabhāgavata*

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sealings has also been identified with king Vajra, mentioned by Hiuen-tsang.[1]

The relationship between Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta, known from the Eran Pillar Inscription of A. D. 510,[2] is not known. There are three possibilities: (1) Bhānugupta might have been a governor of Malwa; (2) he might have been ruling independently the western provinces of the Gupta empire while Vainyagupta ruled the eastern parts of the same; (3) he succeeded Vainyagupta.[3] We are also uncertain about the parentage of Vainyagupta though Dr. Majumdar suggests that he was, perhaps, a son of Purugupta.[4]

Unfortunately, none of these seals is dated. This omission has given rise to various theories about the order of succession after Kumāragupta I.[5] We would not go into the details of this controversy here but simply enumerate various possibilities regarding the order of succession.

The genealogy of the Gupta kings from Śrīgupta to Kumāragupta I, as given on the seals, is identical with that available in several Gupta records and runs as below:

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i.e. a Vaishṇava, the latter is styled as *Bhagavān-Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta* i.e. a Śaiva (*IHQ*, VI, p. 53; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 341). The coins of Vainyagupta show Vaishṇava devices—Garuḍa on the obverse and Lakshmī on the reverse (*IHQ*, IX, p. 784). It is possible that though a Vaishṇava, in his early days, he became a Śaiva subsequently. The Śaiva religion was then gaining popularity and kings of the subsequent dynasties (to wit, Harsha and Śaśaṅka) professed it and adopted the bull as their *lāñchhana*. Either *Paramabhāgavata* became a conventional epithet of the later Imperial Guptas irrespectivee of their religious leanings or, as Ganguli observes, "Vainyagupta though became greatly attached to the Śaiva faith, did not altogether foresake the creed of his family" (*IHQ*, IX, p. 788). He adds: "He was after all a tolerant monarch as we find him giving donations for the maintenance of a Buddhist *vihāra*" (*ibid.*).

1. Mookerji, *Gupta Empire*, pp. 105-06.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 345-46.
3. See *IHQ*, XIX, p. 276.
4. He points out that on the Nalanda seal of Vainyagupta there is a sign of *u* before the letter *gu* (of *gupta*) of the name of his father. Of the kings of the Gupta dynasty, only Purugupta and Vishṇugupta fulfil this requirement. The latter, a grand-nephew of Budhagupta who ruled at least upto A. D. 495, could not have been the father of Vainyagupta ruling in A. D. 506. Secondly, in this case the *u-kāra* sign in the conjoint letter *shṇ* would come down much below the line, which is not the case in the present record (See *IHQ*, XXIV, p. 67).
5. See e.g. Panna Lall, *Hindusthan Review*, Jan., 1918, pp. 1-22; Ghosh, *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 119-25; Deva, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 237-38. The views of different scholars have been discussed in detail by Dr. B. P. Sinha (*DKM*, pp. 1-129).

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Mahārāja Śrīgupta (or Gupta)
|
Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha
|
Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I = Kumāradevī
|
Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta = Dattadevī
|
Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II = Dhruvadevī
|
Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta I = Anantadevī

This may be accepted as probable, though there is the possibility that (i) Rāmagupta might have been the immediate successor and predecessor of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II respectively,[1] (ii) Govindagupta might have ruled between G. E. 93 and 96—the last and first known dates for Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I respectively,[2] and (iii) Ghaṭotkachagupta might have ruled for a short period in Malwa.[3] The chronology of Gupta kings after Kumāragupta I, however, is highly controversial. The records of Skandagupta mention him as the son and successor of Kumāragupta I.[4] But in the seals of later Gupta emperors from Kumāragupta I onwards, the genealogy is traced through Purugupta. Some scholars[5] suggest that Skandagupta and Purugupta should be taken as identical but the omission of the name of Skandagupta may be due to the fact that these seals mention *vaṁśāvalī* and not *rājāvalī*.[6]

We have to place all the Imperial Gupta kings who ruled after Kumāragupta I within the following chronological frame-work provided by the dated epigraphs and coins of the Gupta period:

Last known date of Kumāragupta I .. A.D. 455[7]

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1. Recently, Dr. G. S. Gai has published three inscriptions of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta from Vidiśā region. The script is of the Gupta period. Coins of Rāmagupta are known. For various references bearing on Rāmagupta problem, see Gai, *JOIB*, XVIII, no. 3, pp. 247-51, at p. 249fn.
2. See Choudhary, *PIHC*, 1960, pp. 50-55.
3. See *supra*, pp. 66-67.
4. See e.g. *CII*, III, no. 13, p. 53.
5. Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1909(i), p. 129 ; Deva, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 235 ff.
4. Cf. Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 9-14.
7. Known from one of the coins of this ruler dated (G. E.) 136, (Allan, *CCGD*, p. xliv).

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Earliest known date of Skandagupta	..	A.D. 455[1]
Last known date of Skandagupta	..	A.D. 467[2]
Date of Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Inscription	..	A.D. 473[3]
First known date of Budhagupta	..	A.D. 476[4]
Last known date of Budhagupta	..	A.D. 495[5]
Vainyagupta (known date)	..	A.D. 507[6]
Bhānugupta (known date)	..	A.D. 510[7]

Purugupta,[8] son of Kumāragupta I, either preceded Skandagupta[9] and ruled for a few days or months in A.D. 455 or succeeded Skandagupta[10] and ruled not earlier than A.D. 467 and not later than A.D. 473 when Kumāragupta of Sarnath Inscription (A.D. 473) was ruling. The parentage of the latter is not known. If he and Kumāragupta of Bhitari and Nalanda seals be one and the same person, then Purugupta ruled before A.D. 473 and was followed by his son Narasiṁhagupta, the latter again having ruled for a short

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1. *Vide* Junagarh Rock Ins. of Skandagupta (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 307 ff.)
2. Known from his silver coin, dated G. E. 138 (Sinha, *DKM*, p. 59).
3. *Vide* Sarnath Bud. St. Image Ins. of Kumāragupta II, G. E. 154 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 328-29).
4. *Vide* Sarnath Bud. Image Ins. of Budhagupta, dated G. E. 157 (*ibid.*, p. 331).
5. Known from his silver coins (Allan, *CCGD*, p. 153, no. 617, pl. XXIV, 13).
6. Gunaighar Cop. pl. Ins. of Vainyagupta of G. E. 188 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45).
7. Eran St. P. Ins. of the time of Bhānugupta dated G. E. 191 (*ibid.*, pp. 345-46).
8. Another form of the name Pūrugupta is also found. See Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 3-4, fn. 8.
9. See *IHQ*, IX, p. 787 fn.; Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 23-49. The main argument is the non-mention of the name of Skandagupta's mother in his records while names of the mothers of his predecessors are given. This has been taken indicative of the fact that he was not the son of the chief queen and consequently could not have legitimate and indisputable claim to the throne; hence Purugupta succeeded Kumāragupta I (See *ibid.*, pp. 29-32). Further, the expression *vyapetya sarvānmanujendra-putrāṁl-Lakshmī svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁchakāra* (i. e. the Goddess of Fortune chose him after discarding other princes) used for Skandagupta in Junagarh Rock Inscription is taken to sugggest that he could come to the throne only after a successful exchange of arms (*ibid.*, p. 23). The phrase *tatpādānudhyātaḥ* which occurs in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription to describe the relationship between Kumāragupta I and his father Chandragupta II, is absent in the case of Skandagupta in relation to his father Kumāragupta I. Dr. Sinha holds that the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription, where it occurs, should be ascribed to Purugupta (or one of his successors), rather than to Skandagupta (*ibid.*, pp. 26-28).
10. E. g. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 572-77; Panna Lall, *Hindusthan Review*, Jan. 1918, pp. 1 ff; see also Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 23-49 where an attempt has been made to refute it.

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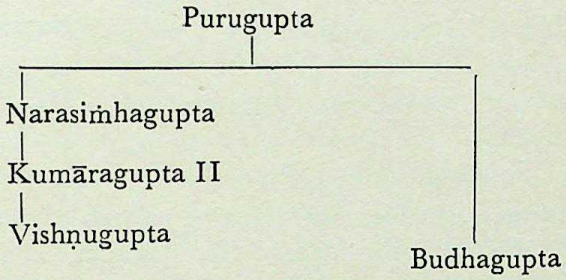
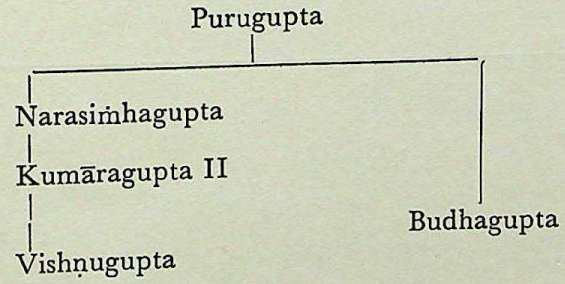
period, followed by his son, Kumāragupta (II) in A.D. 473. If Vishṇugupta, son of the last-named king, followed immediately after him, then he ruled sometime between A.D. 473 and A.D. 476 (the earliest known date of Budhagupta), and the chronology, from Purugupta onwards, would then run as below:[1]



The table shows the rule of kings running into four generations within a very short period. Vishṇugupta, the great grandson of Purugupta (who did not rule before A.D. 455 and, very probably also not up to A.D. 467) must have been a mere stripling at the time of his accession.[2] The alternative suggestion is that Kumāragupta II was succeeded by Budhagupta, and the latter, in turn, by Vishṇugupta, sometime in or after A.D. 495, as shown below:[3]



But then in this case there was a break in the line of succession. If Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Inscription and his homonym known as the son of Narasiṁhagupta from seals, were two different persons,[4] the genealogy should then run on the following lines:

1. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 120.
2. See also *ibid.*, pp. 120-21.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 120.
4. He might have been a son of Skandagupta and his immediate successor and would have been succeeded by Purugupta in A.D. 473, and the latter was followed by his son,

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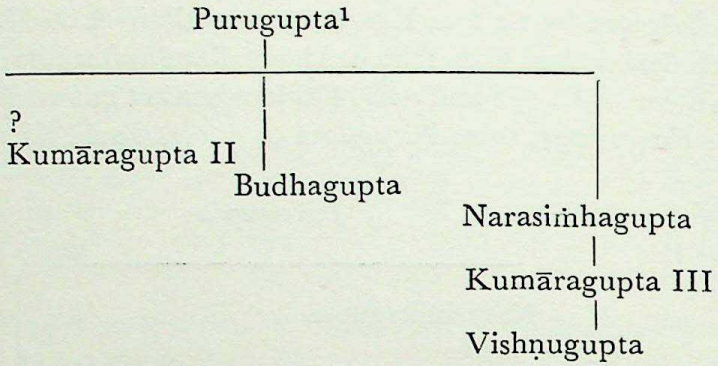
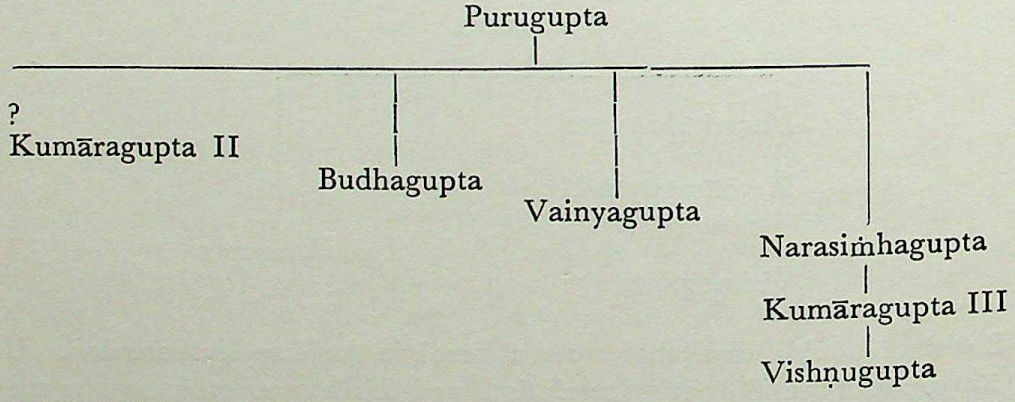


This genealogy obviates the location of too many kings between the years A.D. 467, the last known date of Skandagupta, and A.D. 476, the first known date of Budhagupta. Further, Hiuen-tsang mentions the conflict of Bālāditya (identified with Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya) with the Hūṇa king Mihirakula,[2] and this would synchronise the two, if Narasiṁhagupta came after Budhagupta.

But if Vainyagupta of the Nalanda seal and Gunaighar grant (A.D. 507) be identical and accepted as the son of Purugupta, as suggested by Dr. Majumdar,[3] that ruler either succeeded his grand-nephew, Vishṇugupta (a rare type of succession indeed !), or else the chronology would be :



Budhagupta, in A. D. 476. But if he was the son of Purugupta, he would have succeeded either Purugupta himself, if the latter ruled after Skandagupta, or even the last-mentioned one in case he had no son. Numismatic evidence, according to some scholars, suggests the existence of at least three Kumāraguptas in the Imperial Gupta dynasty (*vide* Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 22-23, 66).

1. See *IHQ*, XIX, p. 122.
2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, pp. 288-89.
3. *IHQ*, XXIV, p. 67.

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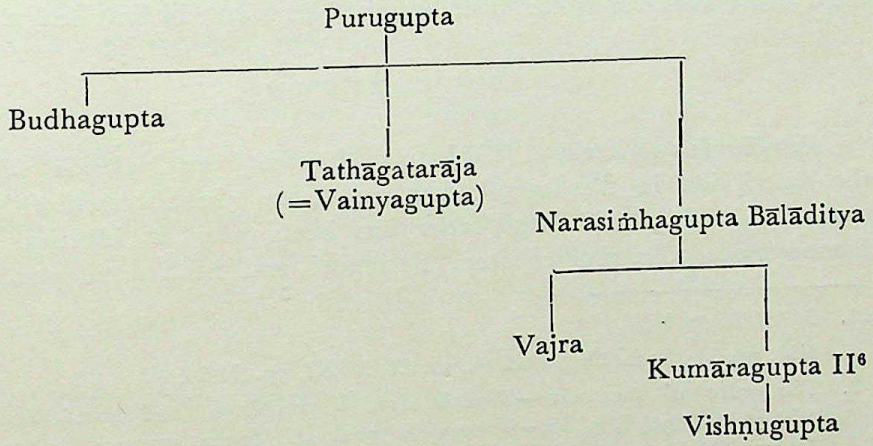
In this case it has to be accepted that Bengal no more formed part of the Gupta empire after Vainyagupta, as a *dūtaka* named Vijayasena, once a feudatory of that king,[1] acknowledged king Gopachandra as his master.[2] The possibility of three brothers succeeding one after another, would indeed be an unusual feature.

It would be worthwhile to refer here to the theory of Dr. Chattopadhyaya regarding the Gupta chronology. He refers to the Chinese evidence which gives the names of those kings who made donations to the Nālandā-vihāra in the following order : Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta-rāja, Tathāgata-rāja Vajra and the king of Mid-India.[3] He identifies Tathāgata-rāja with Vainyagupta[4] and king of Mid-India with Yaśodharman[5] who, as per evidence of his inscription, was on the throne in A.D. 532. The chronology would show Bālāditya and Yaśodharman as contemporaries. It would then run as below :



1. *Vide* Gunaighar Cop. pl. Ins. of Vainyagupta, G. E. 188 (=A. D. 507) ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45, at p. 343.
2. *Vide* Mallasarul Cop. pl. Ins. (of Vijayasena) of the time of Gopachandra, regnal year, 33 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 372-77).
3. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, pp. 222 and 242.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 225 and 242.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
6. According to Dr. Chattopadhyaya, the absence of any royal title and the description *bhūmiṁ rakshati Kumāragupte* shows that Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Ins. was not a king but simply a governor (*EHNI*, p. 223). He also opines that the title *rājā*, used for Bhānugupta in the Eran St. P. Ins., Suggests that he too was a local governor (*ibid.*).

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Thus the evidence of seals has provided valuable information regarding the genealogy of the Imperial Gupta rulers. The question of their chronology, however, still remains open and, with the evidence at hand, no final conclusions are yet possible.

Samāchāra[deva]

The preserved part of a sealing from Nalanda bears the legend, as readand restored by Sastri as *Samāchāra*[*deva*].[1] He has been identified with the homonymous ruler of the Gugrahati plate.[2] Samāchāradeva has been taken by scholars as belonging to the dynasty to which Gopachandra, Dharmāditya also belonged, though their relationship, the order of succession, existence or otherwise of any intervening king or kings, their exact dates and successors, if any, are not known with certainty.[3] However, it seems almost certain that the dynasty was responsible for ending the Gupta rule in East Bengal.

Bhagavachchandra

Sastri refers to a seal of [Bha]gavachchandra from Nalanda who, from the description in the legend, 'appears to have been the son of the sister's son of Gopachandra'.[4] The latter has been taken as identical with the homonymous ruler known from Faridpur[5] and Mallasarul plates.[6] The

1. *MASI*, 66, p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32 ; for Gugrahati pl., see *EI*, XVIII, pp. 74-86.
3. The order of succession—Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva (see *History of Bengal*, I, p. 53)—is, however, preferable to that proposed by Pargiter, viz., Dharmāditya was the first king of the dynasty succeeded by Gopachandra (*IA*, 1910, p. 206ff.). We know of one Vijayasena who was a feudatory of king Vainyagupta (*vide* Gunaighar grant, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45) and, later, of Gopachandra (*vide* Mallasarul Cop. pl. Ins., *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 372-77). Gopachandra thus seems to have succeeded Vainyagupta who was ruling in the year 507 (See *supra*, p. 72). The fact that one *Jyeshṭha Kāyastha* Nayasena is mentioned in the Faridpur grants of Gopachandra (*IA*, XXXIX p. 204, text l. 6) and Dharmāditya (*IA*, XXXIX, p. 200 text line 7), suggests that the latter was the immediate successor of the former.
4. *MASI*, 66, p. 29.
5. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 370-72.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 372-77. According to Sastri, if Gopachandra were identical with the king Gopichandra or Govichandra mentioned by Tāranātha, he might as well be identical with the homonymous chief whose songs are sung in various parts of Northern India (*MASI*, 66, pp. 29-30).

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seal does not specify the dynasty of king Bhagavachchandra. Another seal from Nalanda belongs to some king whose name ends in *chandra*;[1] his identity however, cannot be established.

The Maukharis

The Maukharis are known from inscriptions, coins and seals ranging from the Maurya period to the seventh century A. D. and found in different localities ranging from Bihar to former Kotah state.

1. Seal with the legend Mokhalinaṁ

A seal with the legend *Mokhalinaṁ* in Mauryan Brāhmī characters has been found at Gaya.[2] Generally attributed to the Maukharis,[3] it would suggest that they had a non-monarchical government.[4] It is, however, difficult to conceive of the Maukharis as a political power of sufficient note during the days of the mighty Mauryas or even under the first Śuṅga king.

2. The Nalanda sealing and Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman

The Nalanda sealing (pl. VI, 2)[5] and Asirgadh (pl. VII, 1)[6] seal of Śarvavarman bear identical devices and legends. They give the genealogy of Maukhari kings from the first ruler, Harivarman, to Śarvavarman. The evidence of the find of the seal at Asirgadh does not necessarily indicate that the regions around that place formed part of the Maukhari kingdom in the time of Śarvavarman.

3. *The Sohnag and Nalanda sealings of Avantivarman*

The Sohnag[7] and Nalanda[8] sealings of Avantivarman bear the same device as the seals of Śarvavarman but contain the genealogy of the Maukhari kings from Harivarman down to the owner of the seal.[9] The seals of

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 30.
2. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 14.
3. *Mokhalinaṁ* is a Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit *Maukharīṇāṁ* which is a derivative of *Mukhara* (Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 14).
4. Jayaswal connects the present Mauhari tribe of Gaya with the Maukharis (*vide* Aravamuthan, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, p. 80. fn. 1.)
5. *EI*, XXI, pp. 73-74, pl. facing p. 74.
6. *CII*, III, No. 47, pp. 219ff, pl. XXXA.
7. *PIHC*, 1946, pp. 74-77.
8. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 283ff. text on p. 285, pl. facing p. 284.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 285 (text), pl. facing p. 285.

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Avantivarman for the first time made his relationship with Śarvavarman clear by stating that he was the son of the latter from queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā.[1]

4. *Nalanda sealing of Su....*

Nalanda has also yielded a fragmentary sealing of a Maukhari king[2] of whose name only the first letter *Su* and traces of the second letter *va* or *cha* are indistinctly preserved. The sealing gives the genealogy of the Maukhari dynasty and refers to the author of the seal as the son of Avantivarman and makes no mention of Grahavarman. Either Grahavarman, known to us from the *Harshacharita* as the eldest son of Avantivarman,[3] was killed by Devagupta of Malwa when still a prince or that Suva—succeeded Grahavarman but the latter's name was not mentioned, the seal being genealogical rather than chronological. The hesitation of Harsha in accepting the throne of Kanauj, referred to by Hieun-tsang,[4] could be understood better in the light of the evidence of this seal as even after Grahavarman there was a legitimate heir to the Maukhari throne. Harsha's accession to the throne of Kanauj might not have been as smooth as is generally supposed. Also, it has been pointed out by scholars that the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions a king Suvra after Graha (i.e. Grahavarman).[5]

The genealogy of the Maukhari kings, gathered from these seals, runs as below:

1. *Mahārāja* Harivarman = Jayasvāminī *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*

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1. The prince Sūryavarman mentioned in the Haraha Inscription (*EI*, XIV, p. 110ff.) was either a younger brother of Śarvavarman or predeceased his father, as neither have his coins been found so far nor does he find mention in the seals. Earlier, some writers (e. g. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 219; Vaidya, *Hist. of Med. Hin. Ind.*, I, p. 39; Mookerji, *Haraha*, p. 52) inserted Susthitavarman, known from the Aphsad Inscription, in between these two. The evidence of Nidhanpur Copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman (*EI*, XII, pp. 65-79), however, shows that this ruler was a predecessor of king Bhāskaravarman of Assam.
2. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 283-85.
3. *Harshacharita*, *Uchchhvāsa* IV, p. 13, *tatrāpi tilakabhūtasy-Āvantivarmaṇaḥ sūnuragrajo Grahavarmā nāma.*
4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 343.
5. See, *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. by Ganapati Sastri, p. 626; Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 45 (Sanskrit text). Dr. B. P. Sinha is of the opinion that while Grahavarman, the eldest son of Avantivarman, 'succeeded to the imperial throne of Kanauj, Suva or Sucha declared himself to be the independent ruler of Magadha....' (*DKM*, p. 208).

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2. *Mahārāja* Ādityavarman = Harshaguptā *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*[1]
3. *Mahārāja* Īśvaravarman = Upaguptā *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
4. *Mahārājādhirāja* Īśānavarman = Lakshmīvatī *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
5. *Mahārājādhirāja* Śarvavarman = Indra *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
6. *Mahārājādhirāja* Avantivarman
7. *Mahārājādhirāja* Su....

The Nandī figure on the seals indicates the Śaiva leanings of the Maukharis and their find at Nalanda suggests that, though themselves followers of the Brahmanical faith, they seem to have patronised Buddhist establishments as well.[2]

Śaśāṅka

The Rohtasgarh (District Shahabad) stone seal matrix,[3] cut in a rock at the hill-fort of Rohtasgarh, shows the device of a bull, recumbent to the proper right, and contains a two-lined legend:

(1) *Śrī mahāsāmanta*
(2) *Śaśāṅkadevasya* (pl. VII, 3).

The palaeography favours the identification of Śaśāṅka with the homonymous Gauḍa king, rival of Harsha and persecutor of the Buddhists.[4]

The origin of Śaśāṅka is still shrouded in mystery.[5] The seal suggests his status as a *mahāsāmanta* (great vassal). It is generally believed that this refers to a stage prior to his becoming *Mahārājādhirāja*, a full-fledged and

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1. The name of the queen of Ādityavarman in the Sohnag terracotta seal (*PIHC*, 1946, pp. 74ff.) is given as 'Jayasvāminī' while in all other seals as 'Harshaguptā'. The scribe of the seal seems to have made a mistake and copied the name of the queen of his father for his wife also. It is rather surprising to find an error of this type on a royal seal.
2. The *Harshacharita* (*Uchchhvāsa*, VIII, p. 71) mentions Divākaramitra, a Buddhist monk, as a friend of Grahavarman.
3. *CII*, III, No. 78, pp. 283-84, pl. XLIIIB.
4. Beal, S., *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 210ff. and II, pp. 42, 91, 118, 121.
5. He has been variously considered as a scion of the Imperial Guptas, Later Guptas, Samāchāradeva, Varmans of Kāmarūpa, Jayanāga, etc. For various references see Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 225-30; cf. also Srivastava in *JUPHS* (*NS*), X, p. 33 fn.

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independent king. Various suggestions have been put forth regarding the identity of his overlord, Avantivarman Maukhari[1] Mahāsenagupta (a Later Gupta ruler),[2] Jayanāga[3] and Bhāskaravarman,[4] being the probable ones. A few scholars, however, think that the seal belongs to a period when, in their opinion, Śaśāṅka had been reduced to the status of a vassal by the Pushpabhūti king, Harsha,[5] but the evidence at hand is not decisive.

The Maitraka kings of Valabhī

The seals attached to the rings of the plates of several kings of the Maitraka dynasty[6] bear the device of a bull and, curiously enough, the legend *Śrī Bhaṭakkaḥ* (or its Sanskrit form *Bhaṭṭārkkaḥ*). The legends obviously record the name of the founder of the dynasty—*Senāpati Bhaṭārka*, and not that of the issuers of the grants.[7]

Dadda II of the Gurjara dynasty of Nāndīpurī

The seal connected with the Kaira plates of Dadda II Praśāntarāga, dated 380[8] and the one connected with another set of plates from the same site, dated 385,[9] bear the legend *Sāmanta Dadda*. The Umeta copper-plate-

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1. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*. p. 261; Ganguli, *IHQ*, XII, pp. 456ff.
2. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 59.
3. Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 233-34. The seal attached to the Vappaghoshavata grant of this ruler (*EI*, XVIII, pp. 60ff, pl. facing p. 63) bears the device of Gajalakshmī and an illegible legend.
4. Ray, *IHQ*, II, p. 775.
5. Panikkar, *Srī Harsha of Kanauj*, pp. 17ff; Ray, *Cal. Rev.*, 1928, pp. 207ff; Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, p. 278.
6. The seals connected with the Palitana (*EI*, XI, pp. 104-05), Valabhī (*JBBRAS*, *NS*, I, p. 65) and Bhavanagar (*EI*, XV, pp. 255ff.) copper-plates of Dhruvasena I; the Valabhī grant of Guhasena (*IA*, V, 1876, p. 206), the Valabhī (*IA*, VII, pp. 68-69), Maliya (*CII*, III, no. 38, p. 164, pl. XXIV), Mota Machiala (*EI*, XXXI, p. 302, pl. III, facing p. 304) and the Nogawa (*EI*, VIII, p. 188-89) copper-plates of Dharasena II; the two Valabhī (*IA*, IX, 1880, p. 237; *JBBRAS*, (*NS*), I, p. 28), the Bhadreniyaka (*EI*, XXI, p. 116) plates of Śilāditya I; the Valabhī plates of Dhruvasena II (*JBBRAS*, XX, pp. 1-10).
7. Cf. the title (*tribhuvanāṅkuśa*) used by some Eastern Chālukya rulers. Sircar adds: 'It is difficult to say whether the Maitraka and Eastern Chālukya kings enjoyed the general name Bhaṭārka and Tribhuvanāṅkuśa respectively....' (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 158).
8. *CII*, IV (1), p. 57, pl. X, facing p. 61.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 67, pl. XI, facing p. 69.

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seal[1] bears the legend *Śrī-Sāmanta-Daddaḥ* while the seals attached to the Begumra[2] and Ilao[3] plates as *Śrī-Dadda*. Dadda II was the son of Jayabhaṭa I and grandson of Dadda I and ruled in the region around Broach. His records range between A.D. 629 and A.D. 641 and were issued from Nāndīpurī. He is mentioned in the records of his successor as one who protected (or rescued) the king of Valabhī when the latter had been overpowered by Harsha.[4] This perhaps he did as a subordinate ally of the Chālukya king, Pulakeśin II.[5]

The Pushpabhūtis

The Sonpat Copper seal[6] and the Nalanda sealing[7] of Harsha bear, as device, the figure of a bull.[8] The legend details the genealogy of the Pushpabhūtis (also known as Pushyabhūtis) which substantially agrees with the versions given in the Madhuban[9] and Banskhera[10] copper-plates. The pedigree runs as below :

Mahārāja Naravardhana = Vajriṇīdevī
Mahārāja Rājyavardhana = Apsarodevī
Mahārāja Ādityavardhana = Mahāsenaguptādevī
Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja = Yaśomatīdevī
Prabhākaravardhana

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja
Rājyavardhana

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja
Harshavardhana

Certain interesting points may be noted. In the first place, the Nalanda sealings give the name of the emperor as Harsha, similar to that on the

1. *IA*, VII, p. 61.
2. *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 183.
3. As referred to in *ibid.*, XVII, p. 183.
4. *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 72-73.
5. *EI*, VI, p. 6, line 11 (text) and p. 10, fn. 5.
6. *CII*, III, no. 52, pp. 231ff., pl. XXXIIB.
7. *EI*, XXI, pp. 74-77, pl. facing p. 75, marked as B ; *MASI*, 66, pp. 68-69.
8. The *Harshacharita* (*Uchchhvāsa*, VII, p. 53) also testifies to the fact that Harsha used the bull *lāñchhana* on his seal, *vṛishāṅkamabhinavaghaṭitāṁ hāṭakamayīṁ mudrām*..
9. *EI*, I, pp. 72ff.
10. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 210-11.

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genealogical portion in the two copper-plates along with the sign manual on the Banskhera plate. The Sonpat seal, however, has it as *Harshavardhana*.[1]

Stress is laid in Nalanda seals on Harsha's being born of the same queen who was also the mother of Rājyavardhana. The Banskhera and Madhuban plates do not mention Yaśomatī as the mother of Harsha, obviously because she had already been mentioned as the mother of his elder brother. It is interesting to note that, as mother of Rājyavardhana, she is simply styled *Devī* Yaśomatī in Nalanda seals and *Śrīmatī Yaśomatī* in the Sonpat one, but, as mother of Harsha, she is designated as *mahādevī* in the Sonpat seal and *paramabhaṭṭārikā mahādevī* in the Nalanda ones.

According to Pires, the bull device on both the Maukhari and Vardhana seals, besides other data is indicative of the intimate relationship subsisting between the two families.[2] This perhaps is an attempt on the part of the learned scholar to provide archaeological corroboration to the well-known literary evidence regarding the relations between the two families. There is a good deal of difference in the devices of their seals ; we find two attendant figures and an umbrella along with the bull on the Maukhari seals while on the seals of Harsha we have only the bull. If the bull device be indicative of any family relationship, we shall then have to concede a similar relationship between Harshavardhana and Śaśāṅka as well who are known to have been avowed enemies of each other. The bull device should better be taken as indicative of Śaiva leanings of these kings.

The Varmans of Kāmarūpa

Nalanda has yielded two fragmentary seals of Bhāskaravarman, king of Assam.[3] The lenged on one[4] as partially restored, traces the genealogy of the dynasty from Gaṇapativarman to Bhāskaravarman. The other[5] is more informative. It mentions Bhagadatta, son of Naraka, and Vajradatta, as ancestors of Pushyavarman and gives the pedigree from the last-named which, with the help of the first seal and the Nidhanpur Copper-plate inscription,[6] can be made out as below :

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1. *CII*, III, p. 232.
2. *The Maukharis*, p. 166.
3. *MASI*, 66, pp. 69-70, pl. IXa-b ; *JBORS*, V, p. 302 ; *ibid.*, VI, pp. 151-52.
4. *MASI*, 66, p. 69, no. S. 1, 362.
5. It was found in two fragments (*ibid.*, 66, pp. 69-70, nos. S. I, 687, and S. I, 691, pl. IXa-b).
6. See *EI*, XII, pp. 65-79 ; *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 115ff.

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1.	Pushyavarman		
2.	Samudravarman	=	Dattadevī
3.	Balavarman	=	Ratnavatī
4.	Kalyāṇavarman	=	Gandharvavatī
5.	Gaṇapativarman	=	Yajñavatī
6.	Mahendravarman	=	Suvratā
7.	Nārāyaṇavarman	=	Devamatī
8.	Bhūtivarman	=	Vijñānavatī
9.	Chandramukhavarman	=	Bhogavatī
10.	Sthira(Sthita) varman	=	Nayanaśobhā
11.	Susthita(Susthira)varman	=	Śyāmalakshmī
12.	Supratishṭhitavarman		
13.	Bhāskaravarman		

It is interesting to note that these seals give the names of the queens of nos. 10 to 11 as Nayanaśobhā and Śyāmalakshmī respectively, while the Nidhanpur grant gives their names as Nayanadevī and Śyāmadevī. We have a parallel instance of the queen of Chandragupta II, called Dhruvasvāminī in a Basarh seal[1] and Dhruvadevī in the official Gupta records and seals detailing genealogy. The seal attached to the Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman[2] also contain a genealogy similar to that on the Nalanda seals but with minor variations. The name of Supratishṭhitavarman is omitted, in all probability because of genealogical rather than chronological bias; the names Mahendravarman and Nayanaśobhā (or Nayanadevī) have been abbreviated to Mahendra & Nayanā respectively, obviously due to a considerations of space.

The Nalanda seals either belonged to the period of Bhāskaravarman's occupation of Nalanda after the death of Harsha,[3] or they might have accompanied some letters to Nalanda, perhaps those addressed to the pointiff Śīlabhadra, head of the Nalanda monastery, asking for the deputation of Hiuen-tsang to Kāmarūpa.[4] It has also been suggested that the seal may be connected with Bhāskaravarman's stay in South Bihar in A. D. 643, as per evidence of Hiuen-tsang.[5] The achievements of the rulers of this dynasty, as mentioned in the seals, have been discussed in the following chapter.

1. *EI*, XXX, pp. 287ff. and pl.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107.
3. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 278.
4. Dikshit, *JBORS*, VI, p. 151; Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 567.
5. Sircar, *IHQ*, XIX, p. 278.

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CHAPTER III

POLITY AND ADMINISTRATION

Considerable light is shed on the kingship, administrative machinery, institutions and designations of officials by seals under our review. Along with the central, provincial and district or divisional set-up, the town and village administration, too, is reflected in them and quite a few even testify to local representations in the administrative machinery. Sometimes, a lack of details no doubt creates difficulties in understanding correctly the exact significance of various administrative terms, yet the relative superiority of these objects over literature as a more trustworthy source of information can hardly be denied.

Royal Succession

We come across the terms *pādānudhyāta* and *parigṛihīta* on certain royal seals. The Nalanda seals of Budhagupta[1], Narasiṁhagupta[2], Kumāragupta[3] (II or III) and the Bhitari seal[4] of the last-named king refer to the rulers of the Gupta dynasty from Samudragupta to the issuers of the seals as *pādānudhyāta* in relation to their respective fathers, while Chandragupta II has been styled as *parigṛihīta* in the same context. It is generally believed that the former term, which is quite common and also occurs, in a similar context, on the seals of the rulers of the Maukhari[5] and the Pushpabhūti dynasties[6], indicates that the ruler succeeded his father ; while the latter one, in a similar context, shows that a ruler was selected by his father as successor to the throne, or at least the king 'preferred to represent himself as such'.[7]

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 64.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
7. *Anudhyāta* literally means 'meditating on' but in certain respects conveys the sense of 'favoured by'. *Parigṛihīta* literally means 'accepted'. The two terms have, in various contexts, been used 'with reference to the relations between the predecessor and his successor on the throne, a king and his viceroy, an overlord and his feudatory, a God and his devotee, the father or parents and his son etc.' (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 349).

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The reason why Chandragupta II alone has been called so, may be tentatively explained. If it be a fact that he came to the throne after killing his brother Rāmagupta, he might have been very keen to represent himself as selected by his father (or at least his successors preferred to do so) with a view to assert that his claims to the throne were not only because of his forceful occupation after fratricide but also because he was selected as successor by his father. It was not considered necessary to use this expression in the context of Samudragupta even though we have definite evidence as per Allahabad Pillar Inscription[1] and the Eran Stone Pillar Inscription[2] to his being selected as successor by his father.

Titles and epithets of kings[3]

The seals of certain rulers (assuming the identifications to be correct) simply mention their names, without any titles, as in the case of Jeṭhadatta, Dhanabhūti, Jyeshṭhamitra, etc.[4] In some cases, we find only the honorific *Śrī* prefixed to their names, as in the case of all but four rulers of Prāgjyotisha.[5]

Rājan and nṛipati

The simplest royal title that occurs on the seals and sealings is *rājan*. Later, only a feudatory ruler was styled as such, though in the early historical period this title, alone, was adopted even by imperial monarchs like Aśoka. Kings Abhaya and Dhanadeva, who have been styled simply *rājan*,[6] were, in all probability, petty rulers, though they might have been independent sovereigns. The Vākāṭaka king, Pravarasena, who bears the title *rājan*[7] was, in all probability, an independent ruler while Rājā Dvijavarman of Taleshwar copper-plate seals[8] was perhaps a feudatory of the Guptas. Taleshwar perhaps formed a part of Karttṛipura[9], which is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta along with

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1. *CII*, III, pp. 1ff.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18ff.
3. Most of the legends containing titles have already been given along with references in the preceding chapter and, as such, have not been repeated in the present one.
4. For Jeṭhadatta, see *supra*, p. 30; for Dhanabhūti, *supra*, p. 37; for Jeshṭhamitra, *supra*, p. 24.
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 70.
6. For Abhaya, see *supra*, p. 25; for Dhanadeva, *supra*, pp. 25-26.
7. See *supra*, p. 51.
8. *Supra*, pp. 51-52.
9. For its identification, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 544.

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other frontier kingdoms whose rulers paid taxes, obeyed orders and came in person to swear loyalty to that king.[1] Another title with the same significance as *rājan* is *nṛipati*, which occurs only on the seal of Īśānasiṁha from Nalanda.[2]

Mahārāja

By about the first century B. C., important Indian rulers are known to be using the title *mahārāja*.[3] This title was first used by the Indo-Greeks in the second century B. C. and Khāravela is regarded to have been the first indigenous ruler to have adopted the same.[4]

Mahārāja Viśvāmitra of Besnagar sealing (*circa* first century B. C.)[5] could have been an independent ruler as this title was generally suggestive of that status in that age. Kanishka is also styled as such[6] and was undoubtedly, an imperial sovereign. The title *mahārāja* was also used by provincial governors along with feudatories during the palmy Gupta days and even afterwards. Thus, amongst those who had this title, Hastin of the Parivrājaka dynasty,[7] Śarvanātha of the Uchchakalpa dynasty[8] and Vijayasena of the Mallaśarul copper-plate seal[9] were feudatories and similar might have been the status of Maheśvaranāga[10], Śaṅkarasiṁha[11] and Lakshmaṇa.[12] *Mahārāja* Govindagupta mentioned on a Basarh sealing[13] was a prince and, in all probability, appointed as a governor.

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1. *CII*, III, no. 1, lines, 22-23, *sarvakaradānājñākaraṇapraṇāmāgamana*....
2. *Supra*, p. 59.
3. It is interesting to note that the Greek ambassador, Heliodorus, styles the Greek king, Antialkidas, as *mahārāja* and the contemporary Indian king Bhāgabhadra as *rājan* (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 88-89). This was certainly not done with a view to stress the superior status of Antialkidas but simply conformed to the prevalent practice of Greek kings styling themselves as *basileos basileon* and their Indian counterparts using only *rājan* to denote their status.
4. See *Sel. Ins.*, p. 214.
5. *Supra*, p. 29.
6. *Supra*, p. 43.
7. *Supra*, p. 53.
8. *Supra*, p 54.
9. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 372 ; He also bore an additional title of *sāmanta*.
10. *Supra*, p. 50.
11. *Supra*, p. 58.
12. *Supra*, p. 54.
13. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 1.

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Rājātirāja

The title *rajatiraja* (Sanskrit *rājātirāja*) 'Superior king of kings' occurs on only one seal, that of Kanishka.[1] The title occurs in the epigraphs of the kings of the Kushāṇa dynasty for Kanishka,[2] and Vāsishka.[3] The origin of the title may be traced to the expression *kshāyathiyānāṁ kshāyathiya* of the inscriptions of the Achaemenid king, Darius I.[4] Almost identical is the title *rājādhirāja*, which in its Prakrit form *rajadhiraja* occurs on the coins of certain Indo-Greek kings and represents the Indian form of the Greek *Basileos Basileon*. The form, however, occurs only in a few epigraphs[5] and not on seals.

Mahārājādhirāja

The two titles *mahārāja* and *rājātirāja* together paved the way for the adoption of the title *mahārājādhirāja* by Indian rulers, and, in course of time, important rulers generally came to be designated as such, while *mahārāja* became the title of feudatory rulers and even provincial governors. Epigraphs, however, provide a few examples of even important rulers using the title *mahārāja* in Gupta period.[6]

But the assumption of the title *mahārājādhirāja* does not necessarily indicate that a ruler was a paramount sovereign. Records mention several *mahārājādhirājas* ruling in different parts of the country at the same time. This would suggest that the person bearing this title ruled over a fairly large state and was also the overlord of a few feudal chiefs.[7]

Seals, like epigraphs, sometimes draw a distinction between a *mahārāja* and *mahārājādhirāja*. In the records of several dynasties, the earlier rulers are simply styled as *mahārājas* but their successors adopted the high-sounding honorific of *mahārājādhirāja*. In the Nalanda[8] and Bhitari seals[9] of the

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1. *Supra*, p. 43.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 139.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8, 9, etc.
5. E. g. in *CII*, III, no. 35, p. 153, line 7.
6. E. g. Kumāragupta 1 (*CII*, III, no. 11, p. 47, line 2) and the kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Though such cases are exceptions, yet they sound a warning that titles alone should not be the guiding factors in assessing the status of kings.
7. In fact, from the Gupta times onwards, this is the term which would stand up fully and properly to our ideals of a 'king' Cf. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 10 fn.
8. E. g. *MASI*, 66, p. 66.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

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Imperial Guptas, the first two rulers, viz., Śrīgupta and Ghaṭotkacha, have been designated as *mahārājas* but their successors, beginning with Chandragupta I, as *mahārājādhirājas*. This is also the case with other official Gupta epigraphs. Either by the time of the first two Gupta kings, the practice of designating mighty rulers as *mahārājādhirājas* had not come in vogue amongst Indian kings and their successors continued to give them the titles they had actually held, or they were petty kings or even feudatories, although we do not know of any paramount sovereign ruling at that time in northern India.

The Maukhari seals,[1] likewise, give the title of *mahārāja* to the first three kings—Harivarman, Ādityavarman, and Īśvaravarman, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth and early part of the sixth century A. D. There is little doubt that they were feudatories of the Imperial Gupta rulers. Subsequent kings—Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman, Avantivarman and Suva (?) bore the title *mahārājādhirāja*. Īśānavarman was the first ruler of the dynasty to assume the higher title. He had certainly qualified himself for it by extensive conquests. Similarly, the first three kings of the Pushpabhūti family, viz., Naravardhana, Rājyavardhana I and Ādityavardhana, who flourished between *circa* 500 and 580 A. D., are styled *mahārājas*, whereas their successors, Prabhākarvardhana, Rājyavardhana II and Harshavardhana, assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja*.[2] It is surmised that the first three of these rulers were feudatories of the Guptas or the Hūṇas, or of both, at different times, and even of the Maukharis, at a later stage, for the title *mahārājādhirāja* is not used immediately after the downfall of Mihirakula or the Imperial Guptas, but after the death of Īśānavarman, the mighty Maukhari king.[3]

The seals of Bhāskaravarman from Nalanda,[4] after giving the names of the first two of his ancestors, Bhagadatta (son of Naraka) and Vajradatta, give the genealogy of the ruling family. Bhāskaravarman ruled in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Eleven generations of kings preceding him may have ruled for about three hundred years and the beginnings of the rule of this dynasty may be placed in *circa* A. D. 350. The first four kings—Pushyavarman, Samudravarman, Balavarman and Kalyāṇavarman—are given the honorific *mahārājādhirāja* while the rest are mentioned without any title. These four kings, in all probability, were contemporaries of early Imperial Gupta rulers. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[5] refers to

1. *MASI*, 66, pp. 67-68.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
3. Cf. *Classical Age*, p. 97.
4. *MASI*, 66, pp. 69-70.
5. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 8, line 22 and p. 14.

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Kāmarūpa (Assam) as a border state owing allegiance to him, and this relationship does not seem to have changed even in the time of his immediate successors. Thus, the high-sounding title of *mahārājādhirāja* for these rulers appears to be a vainglorious one.[1] It is strange that Bhāskaravarman, who was an independent ruler,[2] is mentioned without any royal title even though the seals belong to his reign-period. It is one of the rare examples of a reigning king being passed over in silence, while some of the dead ones are lauded.

Bhaṭṭāraka and Paramabhaṭṭāraka

The form *bhaṭṭāraka* 'worshipful one' occurs on a seal from Bhita[3] and on others from Basarh.[4] This honorific was generally applied to feudatory *mahārājas* and *yuvarājas*.[5] Sometimes, it was also used along with *mahārājādhirāja*[6] denoting the independent status of the ruler. The title *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, 'most worshipful one' so frequently occurring in the Gupta epigraphs,[7] is to be found only on a single seal of that period.[8] The title was probably used to denote the king as an upholder of the *dharma*, though the underlying idea of the 'divinity of the king' cannot altogether be ruled out.[9]

The next stage in the development of royal titles, as traced through seals, is marked by the emergence of the grandiloquent *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* to be met in the seals of Harsha for himself and for his two predecessors, Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana II.[10] In later times, yet another title, *parameśvara*, was added to these two and the use of all three together became quite popular.[11] The title *paramadaivata*, which occurs in

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1. Cf. Rajor Inscription of Mathanadeva (*EI*, III, pp. 263 ff.), where a feudatory has been called *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara*.
2. In the *Harshacharita* (Kane's edition, p. 63), he is described as one who had submitted to none except Śiva (*ayamasya cha śaiśavādārabhya saṅkhalpaḥ stheyānsthāṇupādārvindadvayādṛite nāhamanyaṁ namaskuryāmīti*).
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, no. 29. The letters are not quite clear.
4. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 6 ; *ibid.*, p. 108, no. 8.
5. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 6.
6. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 17 fn.
7. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 10, line 33 (text) for Samudragupta; *ibid.*, no. 3, p. 25, line 1, for Chandragupta II ; *ibid.*, no. 16, p. 71, line 3 for Skandagupta.
8. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 8.
9. *Bhaṭṭāraka* was also used for deities, e.g. *Kālañjara-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Avimukteśvara-bhaṭṭāraka*, *infra*, chap. IV.
10. *MASI*, 66, pp. 68-69.
11. The sequence form *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara* became, in course of

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epigraphs as a title of Kumāragupta I[1], and some of his successors[2], does not find mention in seal-legends.

Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa

The titles *kshatrapa* and *mahākshatrapa* were applied to the provincial governors of the Scythian kings.[3] The West Indian Satraps who started as provincial governors continued the use of these titles along with *rājan* even when, in all probability, they had become independent. We find the title *mahākshatrapa* used for Rudrasiṁha and Rudrasena on the seal of Prabhudamā in addition to the titles of *rājan* and *svāmi* (lord).[4] The latter title was also used by Śaka rulers, as evident from their epigraphs. It does not occur on any other seal as a title of some king.

Other epithets

Sometimes certain kings are mentioned as lords of a particular region and this enables us to form an idea of the extent of their territories. Thus, Tīvaradeva is mentioned as *Kosalādhipa*,[5] 'king of Kosala', and Pushyavarman of Assam as *Prāgjyotishendra*[6]—'lord of Prāgjyotisha'.

Seals, like epigraphs, sometimes contain certain epithets to suggest that the fame of a ruler had pervaded the whole world. The epithet *chatussamudrātikkrāntakīrttiḥ*, 'whose fame had spread beyond the four seas,'[7] occurs as an honorific of Harivarman in the Maukhari seals,[8] of Prabhākaravardhana in the seals of Harsha[9] and of Lavkhāṇa of the Hūṇa dynasty in a seal from Nalanda.[10] A similar expression, *chaturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśaḥ* occurs as an

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time, so constant that an epigraph merely states that the king was possessed of the three kingly titles, commencing with *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (*CII*, III, no. 1, p. 10, fn. 3).

1. See, e. g. Dhanaidaha Cop. pl. Ins. (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 287 ff., at p. 288).
2. See, e. g. Damodarpur Cop. pl. Ins. of Budhagupta (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 332 and 336).
3. The Satrapal system of government was first introduced in India by the Achaemenids. The Indian form *kshatrapa* is from *Kshatrapavan* (protection of the realm), its Hellenised form being *satrap*.
4. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 136, no. 248, pl. XLVII ; *supra*, p. 44. Cf. *Kosalādhipa* as an epithet of Ayodhya king, Dhanadeva (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 95). Kosala of the seal stands for South Kosala.
5. *CII*, III, no. 81, p. 294, pl. XLV ; *supra*, p. 58.
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 70.
7. Fleet remarks "Jambudvīpa, or the central division of the world, was supposed to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean" (*CII*, III, p. 27, fn. 5).
8. E. g. *MASI*, 66, p. 67.
9. E. g. *ibid.*, p. 68.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

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epithet of Samudragupta in the official records of the Imperial Guptas.[1] *Chatussamudra* is a stock phrase of Sanskrit literature like the seven oceans of the Purāṇic mythology.[2]

A few other epithets used on seals are suggestive of the might and prowess as well as success attained by rulers against their enemies. Samudragupta has been described as *Sarvarājochchhettā* ('exterminator of all kings'), and *pṛithivyāmapratirathaḥ* ('who had no antagonist in the world') in the Bhitari and Nalanda seals of Kumāragupta II or III.[3] *Apratiratha* is also a name of Vishṇu[4] and is to be met with on the 'Archer type' of coins of Samudragupta. Allan thought that the king with bow and arrow in hand alludes to Vishṇu as *Śārṅgin*.[5] Chandragupta II has been referred to as *svayaṁ chāpratirathaḥ* in Bhitari and Nalanda seals of Kumāragupta[6]; according to Dr. Chhabra, the intention was to convey that the king was Apratiratha incarnate (Vishṇu).[7]

The epithet *pratāpānurāgopanatānyarāja* ('who subjugated other kings by prowess and affection') has been used in seals for Maukhari Harivarman,[8] and for the Pushpabhūti king, Prabhākaravardhana.[9] The sealings of Paśupatisiṁha[10] and Devasiṁha[11] describe them as those 'who had conquered enemies' (*vijitārātigaṇa*), while the seals of Jayarāja[12] and Sudevarāja[13] describe them as destroyers of their enemies by their prowess (*vikkramākkrāntavidvishaḥ*). King Narendra claims to have conquered territories with his sword (*khaḍgadhārājitabhuvaḥ*),[14] while Pravararāja boasts of having conquered the earth with his own arms (*svabhujopārjjitakshitеḥ*).[15] Sometimes, the rulers boasted that their charters were for the observance of even their enemies.[16]

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1. E. g. *CII*, III, no. 10, p. 43, line 1; no. 13, p. 53, line 1.
2. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 57, fn. 2.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 66.
4. In *Vishṇusahasranāma*, see *JNSI*, IX, p. 138.
5. Allan, *CGGD*, p. lxxii.
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 66.
7. *JNSI*, IX, pp. 137 ff.
8. *MASI*, 66, p. 67.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 72; *supra*, p. 60.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 72; *supra*, p. 60.
12. *CII*, III, no. 40, p. 193; *supra* p. 55-56.
13. *Ibid.*, no. 41, p. 197; *supra*, p. 56.
14. *Supra*, p. 55.
15. *Supra*, p. 56.
16. See the seals of Prabhāvatiguptā (*supra*, p. 51), Narendra (*supra*, p. 55), Jayarāja (*Supra*, p. 55), Pravararāja (*supra*, p. 56).

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The sealing from Sunet bearing the figure of a horse and a *yūpa* and the legend *parākrama* (pl. XXXVI, 10)[1] is a glyptic parallel of Samudragupta's *Aśvamedha* type of coins which bear the same device on the obverse and the amplified legend *aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* on the reverse.[2] The legend *parākrama* itself occurs on the standard type of his coins.[3] The intention was to convey the impression that the king's prowess was demonstrated by the performance of a horse-sacrifice. Dr. Chhabra points out that Satyaparākrama is a name of Vishṇu and the title might have been used with a view to equate Samudragupta with that god.[4]

According to the seals of Bhāskaravarman,[5] Nārāyaṇavarman or his predecessors Mahendravarman[6] and Susthira (Susthita)varman performed two horse-sacrifices each. Bhūtivarman of the same dynasty is also known from epigraphic records to have performed this rite[7] but, strangely enough, the fact is not mentioned in the seals. The performance of the horse-sacrifices normally suggests, on the one hand, the might of the kings and, on the other, the continuance of Vedic traditions. Specially interesting is the fact that Samudragupta, though a Vaishṇava, performed the horse-sacrifice.[8] However, the performance of a horse-sacrifice by certain kings does not necessarily indicate that they had made extensive conquests and were paramount sovereigns. Only a king like Samudragupta could have completed all the formalities connected with that ritual. Perhaps no other king known to Indian history had better claims to the title of *aśvamedhayājī*.[9] But in the case of the Prāgjyotisha kings who are mentioned as performers of this ritual, it is somewhat doubtful whether they made extensive conquests to entitle them to its performance. It appears that, in course of time, this essential prerequisite had degenerated into a mere formality. The army

1. See also Rapson, *JRAS*, 1901, p. 102, no. 3. Rapson suggests that the complete title was *parākramāditya* (*ibid.*).
2. Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 67 ff, pl. III, nos. 6-12.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-51, pl. I, 14-15 ; *ibid.*, pl. II, 2, 5, 8, 9 etc.
4. *JNSI*, IX, p. 149.
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 70 ; *EI*, XXX, p. 292.
6. See Majumdar in *Classical Age*, p. 90, text and fn. 4. According to Dr. Choudhury, the seal clearly states that it was Mahendravarman (*History of the People of Assam to the Twelfth Century A.D.*, p. 154), while according to Dr. Sircar, *Nārāyaṇavarman* (*EI*, XXX, p. 289).
7. See Badaganga Rock Ins. of Bhūtivarman, *EI*, XXVII, pp. 18-23, at p. 23; Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman, *EI*, XXX, p. 292.
8. Cf. the example of *Bhāgavata* Sarvatāta's peformance of *aśvamedha* (*EI*, XXII, p. 204).
9. The epithet *chirotsannāśvamadhāhartṛtā*, that occurs in official records of his successors (*CII*, III, no. 10, p. 43 ; *ibid.*, no. 13, p. 53) should be interpreted in this light.

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might have formally been asked to march within the kingdom as a part of the ritual, some festivities and merry-makings held, a few courtiers and influential officers awarded titles and presents, ballads sung in praise of the king, hymns chanted and the horse was 'sacrificed'.[1] The only purpose seems to have been to strike a posture and impress subjects as well as obliging neighbours. The king, thenceforth, was designated as 'one who had performed the horse-sacrifice'.

At times, the seals inform us that the king was *rājavṛittinipuṇa* ('expert in conducting the government'),[2] and *nyāyavān* ('just'). Both these occur as epithets of Paśupatisiṁha and Sāgarasiṁha on their seals.[3] Similarly, Jayarāja and Sudevarāja have the common epithet *prasannahṛidaya* ('of gracious heart').[4]

Harivarman Maukhari[5] and Prabhākaravardhana Pushpabhūti[6] are referred to as preservers of the duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas* (*varṇāśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta-chakkra*) and king Īśānasiṁha[7] of some unknown dynasty as one who was conversant with the duties of the *varṇas* and *āsramas* (*varṇāśramadharmavid*). One of the duties prescribed for a king in the ancient texts is to preserve *varṇāśramadharma*.

It would not be out of place to mention here two other interesting epithets found on seals. The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II has been described as the ornament of his family (*Vākāṭakalalāma*).[8] More interesting is the epithet *Lichchhavidauhitra*, ('daughter's son of a Lichchhavi [chief]'), ascribed to Samudragupta in Nalanda and Bhitari seals of Kumāragupta (II or III). This expression has also been used for him in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription[9] and also occurs as a stock-phrase for him in the official records of his successors.[10] Normally, one does not mention such connections. Evidently this suggests that the Guptas owed much of their power and prestige to the Lichchhavis.[11]

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1. Even the last formality was sometimes not observed (cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, *s. v. aśva*).
2. Sastri translates it as 'expert in serving the king' (*MASI*, 66, p. 72).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
4. *CII*, III, pp. 193 and 197 respectively.
5. *MASI*, 66, pp. 67-68.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
7. *MASI*, 66, p. 71.
8. Cf. the epithets *Guptakulavyomaśaśi* and *Guptakulāmalachandra* on the coins of Kumāragupta I (*CGE*, p. 176).
9. See *CII*, III, no. 1.
10. E. g. *ibid.*, III., nos. 10, 13, etc.
11. It was the marriage of Chandragupta I with the Lichchhavi princess, Kumāradevī,

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Personal religion of kings

Seals also throw light on the personal religion of the kings. Apart from the device (which is, sometimes, liable to be interpreted in more ways than one), we have definite statements in this context. The seals apply epithets like *paramabhāgavata*, 'most devout Vaishṇava'[1] to certain Gupta kings.[2] Śarvavarman[3] and Harshavardhana[4] style themselves as *paramamāheśvara* 'most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara (i. e. Śiva). It is interesting to note that Harsha's brother and immediate predecessor, Rājyavardhana II, is called a *paramasaugata*[5], 'most devout worshipper of Sugata (Buddha)' and his three predecessors—Rājyavardhana I, Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana—as *paramādityabhaktas*, 'most devout worshippers of the Sun'.[6] The different epithets applied to individual members of the same family furnish definite evidence of royal eclecticism in ancient India.[7] The epithet '*parama-māheśvara*' applied to Harsha is significant in view of the evidence furnished by Hiuen-tsang who paints him as a follower of Buddhism. The same authority further states that, though a Buddhist, he also worshipped

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that laid the foundations of the supremacy of the Guptas. Chandragupta I acknowleged his indebtedness to the Lichchhavis by issuing coins which bore on the obverse the figure of Kumāradevī and her name along with his own figure and name and on the reverse the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* (*CGE*, p. 33 ff. pl. I, nos. 9, 10, 11). It is likely that Samudragupta succeeded not only his father but also his maternal grand-father, the Lichchhavi chief, who, very probably, had no male issue. The old republican traditions seem to have persisted in the Lichchhavi administration and their chief seems to have carried on the administration in the name of the people. Hence, importance was given to the Lichchhavis rather than to their chief.

1. Though literally, 'most devout worshipper of god', it denotes a devotee of Vishṇu, unless there be definite indication to interpret it otherwise (*CII*, III, p. 28, fn. 5); for the view that bhagavat should be interpreted as 'God' and not Vishṇu, see Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, pp. 292-95.
2. It has been used for Chandragupta II in Nalanda seals of Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II or III, and also in the Bhitari seal of the last-mentioned ruler; for Kumāragupta I, in the Nalanda seal of Budhagupta; for Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II or III and Vainyagupta in their respective seals from Nalanda. Chandragupta II was the first ruler to have adopted it.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 68.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Cf. the cases of kings of the Pañchāla dynasty, where practically every king of the dynasty, according to generally accepted view, seems to have followed a different faith. For a different view, however, see Bhatt, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 151. The kings of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family have been called variously as *parama-vaishṇava*, *parama-māheśvara*, *parama-bhagavatī-bhakta* and *paramādityabhakta* respectively (*EI*, XIX, pp. 17-18).

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Śiva and Sūrya publicly on ceremonial occasions.[1] Either he continued to style himself *paramamāheśvara* even after his conversion to Buddhism or the statement of the Chinese pilgrim is biased and hence a perversion of truth.[2] The seals, as shown earlier,[3] also testify to the practice of kings dedicating their kingdoms to their *ishṭadevatās*.

Divinity of the King

Many legists of ancient India believed in the divinity of kings.[4] The divine character of a king is also borne out by epigraphic evidence.[5] The Kauśāmbī sealing of Kanishka describes him as *devaputra* (son of gods). This epithet has been used for some of the Kushāṇa kings[6] in epigraphs and is generally taken to be an emulation of the Chinese title *tien-tze*.[7] In certain seals, the kings have been compared to gods because of the common attributes possessed, or similar functions performed, by them.[8] Thus Harivarman has been compared to Vishṇu for his quality of dissipating the sorrow of his subjects (*Chakkradhara iva prajānāmārttihara*[*ḥ*]).[9] In the seals of Harsha, for similar qualities, his father, Prabhākaravardhana, is compared with the sun (*Ekachakkraratha iva prajānāmārttiharaḥ*), his brother, Rājyavar-

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1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 364.
2. Cf. Majumdar in *Classical Age*, p. 118.
3. According to another interpretation, the rulers believed that they got their kingdoms by the grace of their *ishṭadevatās*. See *supra*, pp. 46-47.
4. Manu opines that the king, verily, is a great divinity in human form, his body being created by taking particles from those of divine guardians of the eight quarters (VII, 4, 5). For an attempt to trace the various stages of the evolution of divinity of kings, see Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, p. 28.
5. Samudragupta, for example, is described as 'incomprehensible' (*achintya*) 'mortal only in celebrating the rites of observance of mankind' (*lokasamaya-kriyānuvidhānamātra-mānusha*) 'a god dwelling on earth' (*loka-dhāmno deva*). See *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 8, line 28.) In official records of his dynasty he is described as equal to Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Āntaka-sama*).
6. Kanishka I (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 144); Vāsishka (*ibid.*, pp. 149-50), Huvishka (*ibid.*, pp. 153, 154 and 157), Kanishka, II (*ibid.*, p. 154). That the title was meant to indicate the divinity of the king is clear from the fact that, on these coins, the Kushāṇa kings represented themselves as descending from the clouds and surrounded by divine flames' (*CCPM*, I, p. 183, pl. XVII, 31, 33) and that they even installed statues of the dead kings of their dynasty in a shrine (*devakula*) to be worshipped as divinities (*JRAS*, 1924, pp. 402-03).
7. *PHAI*, p. 518, text and fn.
8. Thomas in *B. C. Law Volume*, II, pp. 305 ff.
9. *MASI*, 66, p. 68.

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dhana, with the Buddha (*Sugata iva parahita rataḥ*) and he himself with Śiva (*Maheśvara iva sarva satvānukampakaḥ*).[1]

Queens and their titles

We have only four seals belonging to queens. Those of *Mahādevī* Prabhudamā and Prabhāvatiguptā have already been discussed above.[2] Of the remaining, one belonging to *Mahādevī* Rudramatī, discovered at Bhita, bears a couchant bull and has the legend:

1. *Mahādevyā[ḥ] Śrī-*
2. *Rudramatyāḥ*[3]

Queen Rudramatī is not known to us from any other source. Dr. D. C. Sircar connects her with Kauśāmbī,[4] obviously on the evidence of the proximity of Bhita, to that place.

The fourth belongs to queen Dhruvasvāminī.[5] It bears the device of a lion and has a four-lined legend:

1. *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandragupta-*
2. *patnī mahārāja-Śrī-Govindagupta-*
3. *mātā mahādevī-Śrī-Dhru-*
4. *vasvāminī.*

Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī is mentioned as the wife of *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II and mother of *Mahārāja* Govindagupta. She is better known as Dhruvadevī which form occurs in all other records mentioning her name.[6]

The names of queens are generally mentioned along with those of kings on the seals detailing genealogy. The queens Vittavvade(vī) and Melyāde(vī) mentioned on a sealing of a Hūṇa king from Nalanda[7] are called *Śrī devīs*. All queens mentioned in the seals of the Imperial Guptas bear the title *mahādevī*.[8] This title is also borne by Prabhudamā[9] and Rudramatī.

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1. *MASI*, 66, pp. 68-69.
2. For seals of Prabhudamā, see *supra*, pp. 44-45 and of Prabhāvatiguptā, *supra*, p. 51.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52.
4. *AIU*, p. 177.
5. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 1, pl. XL, 1. In all, three specimens were found.
6. Cf. a lady being called by the name of Muruṇḍadevī (*CII*, III, no. 28, p. 127, line 6), and Muruṇḍasvāminī (*CII*, III, no. 29, p. 131, line 6).
7. *MASI*, 66, pp. 70-71.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
9. *Supra*, pp. 45-46.

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During Gupta times, this title was used for queens of paramount kings. The seal of Prabhāvatiguptā does not mention any title as she was a dowager-queen.

The Maukhari seals mention *bhaṭṭārikādevī* as the title of all queens except that of Īśānavarman, who is styled as *bhaṭṭārikāmahādevī*.[1] In the Nalanda seals of Harsha,[2] the queens of his predecessors, except that of Prabhākaravardhana, have only *Śrī* prefixed to their names. The queen of Prabhākaravardhana is designated *devī* while being described as the mother of Rājyavardhana, but styled *paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī* when referred to as mother of Harsha. The queens of all the kings of Prāgjyotisha have the prefix *Śrī*, the only exception being that of queen Dattadevī, who, curiously but perhaps inadvertantly, is mentioned even without it.[3] Like kingly titles, there was evolution of the titles of the queens as well. But, in the case of queens, the full titles were sometimes left out; perhaps it was presumed that people would infer the status of the queen from the titles of her consort. The only definite evidence from seals regarding queens taking part in the administration is that of the dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā who acted as a regent of her minor son, Divākarasena.

Yuvarāja

A Rajghat seal bears the legend *Yuvarāja Magu*.[4] The title *yuvarāja* also occurs on certain *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*[5] and *balādhikaraṇa*[6] sealings from Basarh. Generally, the eldest son of the king was installed to this office.[7] Considerable care and attention was paid to his training in various arts and sciences,[8] his responsibilities in matters of administration being next only to the king. There used to be a military contingent in charge of the *yuvarāja*[9]

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 68.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
4. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.
5. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 4, pl. XL, 10 (28 Specimens).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 108, no. 12, pl. XL, 5.
7. Cf. *Rām.*, 1. 71. 14.
8. The Hathigumpha Inscription attests that Khāravela, before being annointed as *yuvarāja*, had mastered many branches of learning (*lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra-vidhi-visāradena sava-vijāvadātena* (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 214).
9. See the legend *yuvarājapādiya balādhikaraṇasya* on a Basarh sealing (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 12, pl. XL, 5).

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who had a separate civil administrative establishment with a *kumārāmātya*[1] and other officers attached to him.

Pratīhāra, Mahāpratīhāra, and Taravara

Among the officers of the royal household, we have seals of the *pratīhāras* and *mahāpratīhāras*. A Bhita sealing[2] shows a bull recumbent to the left and has the legend :

Pratīhārayor-Vviśākha-Rudradāma(yoḥ)[3] (pl. XIII, 2).

This, obviously, was a joint seal of the two *pratīhāras*, Viśākha and Rudradāma. A rectangular copper seal from Kauśāmbī bears a two-lined legend in characters of the fourth century A. D. The first reads *pratīhāra* while the second has tentatively been read by Altekar as *Kālāhirakashya(sya)*.[4] Kālāhiraka probably was a *pratīhāra* of the royal family ruling at Kauśāmbī.[5] A sealing from Basarh in the Indian Museum, bearing the sun and moon symbols, has the legend :

1. *Mahāpratīhāra-tarava-*
2. *ra-Vinayaśūrasya*

'(Seal) of Vinayaśūra, the *mahāpratīhāra* and *taravara*' (pl. XIII, 3).[6] The *pratīhāras* were chamberlains and ushered visitors and ambassadors into royal presence while the *mahāpratīhāra* was their chief officer. The term also occurs in epigraphs[7] and has sometimes been interpreted as 'police-officer',[8] or a 'high official in the police or military department.'[9]

To Bloch, *taravara* was a synonym of *tarika*, a class of officials, mentioned in copper-plates.[10] Raychaudhuri interprets *talavara* as 'general or a local chief', and refers to the use of the word *talāra* in the Chirwa inscription of

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1. See the sealings with legend *yuvarājapādiya kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 4, pl. XL, 10).
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 52.
3. R. D. Banerji, *AIG*, p. 97 ; Marshall, however, reads *Pratīhārar Vviśākharudradāma* and notes that a syllable between *ra* and *vvi* seems to have been carried away.
4. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 13, pl. IA, 12. The genitive termination as *shya* instead of *sya* is interesting.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Indian Museum, no. A 11338-NS 6163; the same as *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 16, pl. XL, no. 15.
7. *EI*, VIII, p. 73 ; *CII*, III, no. 39, p. 180, lines 75-76.
8. *AIG*, p. 97.
9. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 286.
10. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, under no. 16.

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Samarasiṁha.[1] The word *taravara* means, among others, 'surpassing' or 'conquering', and is also connected with spells and charms[2] which would be quite a fitting qualification for a *pratīhāra*.

Vinayaśūra has been taken as an official title by Mookerji, and his duties, in his opinion, included the announcing and conducting of visitors to a king.[3] It, however, seems to be a personal name as the legends on the seals generally end with the name of the owner unless they be office seals; in the latter case they contain the word *adhikaraṇa*.

Mantrin and Amātya

Of the seals and sealings at our disposal, only one from Sirkap bears the term *mantrin*. It has the device of three stars and the legend *Sihasa (Madri) na-putasa Vīrabahusa*, 'of Vīrabāhu, son of *Mantrī* Siha (Siṁha)', in both Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī.[4] Perhaps Vīrabāhu did not hold the office of a *mantrī* but he took pride in being styled as the son of one such.

An agate sealing in the British Museum bears the legend *amātyasa*(?).[5] Several sealings from Bhita, Basarh and Rajghat, ascribable to the Kushāṇa and early Gupta periods, belong to *amātyas* or their sons. A terracotta sealing from Bhita[6] bears a *chakra*, a *śaṅkha*, the *śrīvatsa*[7] symbol and the legend, in characters of the fourth or fifth century A.D., *Amāty-Eśvarachandrasya*, '(Seal) of *Amātya* Īśvarachandra' (pl. VIII, 9). Another sealing from the same site and of about the same period bears the legend *Amāty-Eśvar*(*ā*)*na*[*na*].[8] One of the two impressions on No. 37[9] in Marshall's list of Bhita seals bears a fan-tailed peacock on a pedestal and the legend *Amātya Dha*[*r*]*madevasya* in

1. *PHAI*, p. 563 and fn. 1. Dr. Sharma, however, writes, "The *Talāra* was a *purādhyaksha* or *Nagara-rakshaka*. It is obvious from the *Pṛithvīchandra-charita* of Māṇikya Sūri that he acted as a police officer, going about the city at night and arresting thieves." (*Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 205-06).
2. See Monier-Williams, *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, *s.v. tara*.
3. *Ancient India*, p. 329; *Gupta Empire*, p. 151.
4. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, No. 27; *ibid.*, III, pl. 208, no. 57. The only difference between Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends is that the latter has *putrasa* instead of *putasa* and *Vīrabāhusa* instead of *Vīrbahusa*. The possibility of Madrina being a personal name cannot be ruled out.
5. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 125, no. 17, pl. V, no 16.
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 36, pl. XIX.
7. Called an 'uncertain symbol' by Marshall (*ibid.*). It is possible to break the legend as *amātyeśvara-Chandra*, but *amātyeśvara*, as a title, is unknown.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 54, no. 41. This shows a *śaṅkha* as a device.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 53, no. 37A, pl. XIX.

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Gupta characters. No. 38[1] of the same list bears the same legend but has no device, while no. 39[2] bears a *śrīvatsa* symbol and the legend *Amātya Boḷasya* in Kushāṇa characters (pl. VIII, 7). Likewise, no. 40[3] shows a *śrīvatsa* symbol. The legend, however, reads *Amātya Nāgadāma* in second or third century A. D. characters.[4] A Basarh sealing[5] bears simply the following two-lined legend :

1. (*A*)*mātya Bhadrikaputrasya*
2. (*A*)*mātya Hastabalasya*

'(Seal) of *Amātya* Hastabala, son of *Amātya* Bhadrika'. A Mathura Museum sealing bears the two-lined legend :

1. *Amātyasya*
2. *Upalahimasa*[6]

A Rajghat sealing in the Allahabad Museum[7] shows a couchant bull, and the legend *Amātyakasya* in Gupta characters (pl. VIII, 1). Another from the same site has the legend *amachanaṁ* (Skt. *amātyānāṁ*), 'of the *amātyas*' (pl. VIII, 6). Several seals of *amātyas* have been obtained from Rajghat. Of these the most numerous are those of *Amātya* Janārdana and can be viewed in almost all notable museums of Northern India.[8] All these bear a beautifully depicted humped bull, seated to left, and the legend in early Gupta characters *Amātya Janārdanasya* (pl. VIII, 2). The characters on the sealings resemble those of Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Dr. Motichandra, therefore, surmises that *Amātya* Janārdana looked after the regions around Varanasi in the time of Samudragupta.[9]

A Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing from Rajghat[10] has a *svastika* and the legend *Amātyaputra-Kalabhakasya* in early Gupta characters (pl. VIII, 4). Another bears the device of a bull and the legend *Amātya Kapilakasya* in

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1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, no. 38, pl. XIX. There are no string-marks on it and it was presumably used as a token.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Another impression on this lump, like that on no. 37 (*ibid.*, p. 53), shows a *nandipada* and the legend *Vārasya.*
5. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 134, no. 210, pl. XLVII.
6. I owe this information to Prof. K. D. Bajpai.
7. No. 149.
8. E.g. Allahabad Museum (nos. 14, 30, 69, 73, 80, 103, 128, 131, 132, 162 and 178) ; Lucknow Museum (no. 40. 152) ; Bharat Kala Bhavan (no. 6367) ; Antiquity Section, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi ; Banda Museum, etc.
9. *Kāśī Kā Itihāsa*, p. 91.
10. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6371.

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similar characters (pl. VIII, 5). Still another[1] in the same collection has the legend *Amātya Āryaśarma* in characters of the same age (pl. VIII, 3).

A fair number of sealings from Rajghat bear the device of a seated bull and the legend *Amacha-Hatthikasa* in Kushāṇa characters (pl. XIII, 1).[2] Seal nos. 6233 and 6235 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan bear similar device but the legends thereon are *Hastikasa* and *Hastikasya* respectively. In the absence of the title *amātya*, it is difficult to infer whether these refer to the same person. A Rajghat sealing in the Lucknow Museum[3] shows three symbols—a *triśūla-paraśu*, a *chakra* and a spear with flying pennons, and has the legend *Amātya Varadatta* (pl. VIII, 8). The reverse shows cross string-marks. Another sealing acquired from the same site shows a bull, standing, facing a *yūpa* and the legend *Amātya Bolaka* (?).[4] Sealings of *Amātya* Śoṇa,[5] *Amātya* Śrīdvārika,[6] and *Amātya* Boṭa[7] have also been found there.

The find of a fairly good number of *amātya* seals is suggestive of the importance and numerical strength of this category of officers. This is also suggested by the fact that one Kalabhaka, who himself did not hold any office, styles himself as the son of an *amātya* and does not even care to give the name of his father. The names of some *amātyas*, for example, Janārdana and Hastika, occur on a large number of seals from Rajghat, while those of others occur either on one or on a few only. Perhaps the latter were sent by the *amātyas* from outside along with some correspondence, while the former had their origins at their find-spot. The presence of string-marks on the back of these sealings indicate that they were attached to some documents and in the case of *Amātyas* Janārdana and Hastika is suggestive of parties entering into contracts in the presence or with the approval of these officials who maintained copies of these in their record-rooms for reference. The sealing mentioning *Amātya* Hastabala, son of *Amātya* Bhadrika, may suggest the hereditary character of that office. Literary[8] and epigraphic[9] evidence also attests to the hereditary character of similar offices.

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1. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6362.
2. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6369.
3. Lucknow Museum, no. 49. 189.
4. In the Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Archaeology, B. H. U., no. 470.
5. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 413.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Manu*, VII, 54 ; *Yāj.* (Ānandāśrama) 1.310 ; *Bṛihaspati*, 1.71.
9. *CII*, III, no. 6, p. 35 line 3, Vīrasena calls himself as one who hereditarily obtained the post of *sachiva* (*anvayaprāpta-sāchivya*) ; *EI*, X, p. 71, Minister Pṛithvīsheṇa was son of Minister Śikharasvāmin. For seven Chandella kings being served by five genera-

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The presence of *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, and *śrīvatsa* on the seals of Īśvarachandra and *śrīvatsa* on those of *amātyas* Boḷa and Nāgadāma suggests their Vaishṇava leanings. Janārdana and Kapilaka had the bull as device and may have been Saivas. The seal of Dharmadeva has a peacock device which may suggest that he was a devotee of Kārttikeya. Nothing can be said with certainty regarding the caste of these *amātyas* except that of *Amātya* Aryaśarma, who, as his name-ending indicates, was a Brāhmaṇa. Some authorities, favour the appointment of Brāhmaṇas to this office.[1] It has been stated by a learned scholar that "in post-Maurya times *amātyas* were more commonly known as *sachivas*".[2] But the evidence of the seals points just the other way. Many seals of *amātyas* belonging to the Kushāṇa and Gupta ages[3] have been unearthed but none of a *sachiva*.

The terms *amātya* and *mantrin*, together with *sachiva* (not found to occur on the glyptics) have, sometimes, been regarded as synonymous while at others, treated differently.[4] Ancient Indian texts emphasize their necessity and importance[5] as well as their qualifications.[6] The term *amātya* came to denote a general class of officers who were assigned numerous duties and offices. The *Arthaśāstra*,[7] Buddhist texts[8] and even the account of the Greek

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tions of ministers, see *EI*, I, pp. 196 ff., 207 ff., 330 ff. (*vide* Dikshit, R. K., in *Uttara Bharati*, VI, p. 81).

1. *Manu.* (VII, 58) and *Bṛihaspati* (1.71) favour Brāhamaṇas for this post.
2. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 17.
3. In Gupta and post-Gupta times as the evidence of seals and epigraphs suggests, the office of *kumārāmātya* became very popular. See *infra*, pp. 103ff.
4. Manu seems to equate *sachiva* (VII. 54) and *amātya* (VII. 60). The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Sumantra as a *mantrī* at one place (1.8.4) and *amātya* at another (1.7.2-3). The *Amarakośa* (p. 148, line 1476) takes *mantrī*, *dhī-sachiva* and *amātya* as synonyms and distinguishes them from the *karmasachivas*. The *Arthaśāstra* lays down that a king should appoint three or four *mantrins* (I. 15, p. 28), but as many *amātyas* as deemed necessary (I. 15, p. 29). The *Śukranīti* seems to regard *sachiva* (II. 94), *amātya* (II. 103-06) and *mantrin* (II. 95) respectively as army ministers, revenue ministers and the chief counsellors; Kāmandaka (IV. 24-30) attests to greater importance of a *mantrī* in comparison to an *amātya*. According to Spellman, probably the *mantrī* was the highest official followed in descending order by the *amātya* and *sachiva* (*Political Theory of Ancient India*, p. 79).
5. *Amātya* has been taken as one of the seven *prakṛitis* of state (*Arthaśāstra*, VI. 1; *Manu.*, IX. 294; *Vishṇu.*, I. III. 33); for their importance, see *Manu.*, VII. 55; *Arthaśāstra*, I. 7.
6. *Yāj.*, (Ānandāśrama ed.) 1.310; *Rām.*, 1.7; *Bṛihaspati*, 1.71.
7. *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 1.23-24, *amātyamūlāssarvārambhāḥ janapadasya karmasiddhayaḥ svataḥ parataścha yogakshema sādhanaṁ vyasanapratīkāraḥ śūnya niveśopachayau daṇḍakarānugrahaścheti.*
8. See Fick, *The Social Organization of North-East India in Buddha's Time*, pp. 144-51.

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ambassador Megasthenes[1] testify to this. The *amātyas* of these seals and sealings would, as such, have performed various administrative duties.

Kumārāmātya

The other interesting title that we come across on the sealings is *kumārāmātya*. Many of these with this title have been found at Nalanda, Basarh, Bhita, Rajghat and other sites. All these are datable to the Gupta period on palaeographic grounds. We can classify them as below on the basis of their legends:

S-1[2]. *Kumārāmātyasya*
'(Seal) of *kumārāmātya*'. This legend occurs on a sealing of unknown provenance in the Lucknow Museum[3] and is marked with the device of a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha* (pl. XXVII, 6).

S-2. *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya*
'(Seal) of the office[4] of *kumārāmātya*'. It occurs on sealings from Basarh[5] (pl. XI, 5), Bhita,[6] Rajghat,[7] (pl. X, 2,) Nalanda[8] and Ahichchhatra.[9]

S-3. (1) *Magadhabhuktau kumārāmātya* (2) *adhikaraṇasya*
'(Seal) of the office of *kumārāmātya* in Magadha-bhukti'. The two-

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1. Cf. the duties of councillors and assessors as enumerated by Megasthenes, (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 85).
2. 'S-1' stands for 'Seal-1'.
3. No. 606. This sealing, in all probability, is the one obtained from Kasia and described by H. N. Sastri in *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 71, no. 5. Sastri, however, describes the *śrīvatsa* symbol as a tortoise.
4. The word *adhikaraṇa* has also been taken to mean 'a court' (see Vogel's opinion cited in *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107). But the word *adhikaraṇa* occurs with various officers like *daṇḍapāśika* (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 14) *āyuktaka* (*ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 34, pl. VIII—the illustration is upside down), *vinayasthitishāpaka* (*ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 21, pl. XL, no. 18), *raṇabhāṇḍāgāra* (*ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 13, pl. XL, no. 7), and while each of these must have had an office, it is doubtful if they had a court as well. Particularly doubtful is the court being attached to a military store (*raṇabhāṇḍāgāra*). Bloch, however, takes *adhikaraṇa* in the sense of a 'chief' (*ibid.*, p. 103) and translates *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* as '(seal) of the chief of princes' (*ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 107).
5. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 3.
6. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 35. See pl. X, 1.
7. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6376.
8. *MASI*, 66, p. 52, pl. V, 1.
9. Nos. 4353 and 4448 in the Antiquity Section of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. The latter occurs on a lump which also bears another impression that of *balādhikaraṇa* (pl. XIII, 5).

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lined legend is to be seen on several Nalanda sealings bearing the figures of Gajalakshmī.[1]

S-4. (1) *Nagarabhuktau kumārāmātyādhi* (2) *karaṇasya*
'(Seal) of the office of *kumārāmātya* of Nagara-bhukti' (pl. XI, 1). Several Nalanda sealings located in various museums[2] have the device of Gajalakshmī and the above legend.

S-5. *Tīrakumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*[*sya*]
'(Seal) of the office of *kumārāmātya* at Tīra'.[3] The legend occurs on six Basarh sealings showing the Gajalakshmī device.[4]

S-6. (1) *Veśālīnāmakuṇḍe kumārā*(2)*mātyādhikaraṇa*[*sya*]
'(Seal) of the office of *kumārāmātya* in Vesālīnāmakuṇḍa'. The legend, in two lines, occurs on a Basarh sealing bearing the device of Gajalakshmī.[5]

S-7. (1) *Yuvarājapādīya-kumārā*(2)*mātyādhikaraṇa*
'(Seal) of the office of *kumārāmātya* attached to[6] *yuvarāja*'. The legend occurs on thirty-seven sealings from Basarh bearing Gajalakshmī device[7] (pl. XI, 3,4).

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1. *MASI*, 66 p. 51, nos. S. 1, 808, 813, 817, etc., pl. Vk. There are minor variations in the legend (some have *sandhi* between *kumārāmātya* and *adhikaraṇa* others, do not) and also the device (see *ibid.*, 66, p. 51).
2. To wit, Nalanda Museum, Indian Museum (Calcutta), Ashutosh Museum (Calcutta), Lucknow Museum, Mathura Museum, etc.
3. Tīra seems to stand for the city of Tīrabhukti (cf. *Classical Age*, p. 345).
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 22.
5. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 134, no. 200, pl. XLV11. *Veśālīnāmakuṇḍa* is rather a curious expression. Spooner renders it as 'at the *kuṇḍa* called Veśālī' (*ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 134, no. 200 ; see also Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 447). Spooner doubted taking this expression in usual sense of a tank (*ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 134). J. N. Banerjea thought that it may be a reference to *Markaṭahrada* 'monkey tank' which, according to Hiuen-tsang, commemorated a miracle in the life of the Buddha (*DHI*, p. 196). Dikshitar takes *nāma* to mean 'famous' and *kuṇḍa* as a 'place' and opines 'that the *kumārāmātya* under reference was in charge of the well-known place Vaiśālī' (*Gupta Polity*, p. 154).
6. The term literally means 'belonging to the foot of' (*History of Bengal*, I, p. 284). R. D. Banerji takes it to mean equal in rank (*AIG*, pp. 73-74). Bloch takes *pādīya* as equal to *pādāḥ* 'a mere honorific term' and translated it as 'His Highness' (*ASIAR*, 1943-04, p. 103).
7. Twenty-eight from one die and nine from another. The former bears Gajalakshmī alone (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107), and the latter with two attendants (*ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 5). One of the latter specimens is combined with the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* sealing.

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S-8. (1) *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya* (2) *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya*
'(Seal of) the office of *kumārāmātya* attached to Lord, the *yuvarāja*.'[1] Thirteen identical sealings from Basarh marked with the device of Gajalakshmī bear the above legend.[2]

S-9. (1) *Śrī-para[mabhaṭṭāraka]-pādīya-ku*(2)*mārāmātyādhikaraṇa[sya]*
'(Seal of) the office of *kumārāmātya* attached to *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e. the king).'[3] The legend occurs on a Basarh sealing bearing the Gajalakshmī figure.[4]

S-10. (1) *Mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Vishṇura* (2) *kshita-pādānugṛihīta-kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya*

'(Seal) of the office of *kumārāmātya* attached (or subordinate)[5] to great cavalry leader and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vishṇurakshita'. The above legend together with the Gajalakshmī device is to be met with on a few sealings from Bhita[6] (pl. XI, 2).

S-11. The Tipperah Copper-plate bears a seal with the legend *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* in early Gupta characters. Alongside occurs

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1. R. D. Banerji thinks that *yuvarāja* stands for any prince and *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka* for heir-apparent (*AIG*, p. 73). Ghoshal, however, writes: "As *yuvarāja* by itself always means 'the crown prince' it is natural to take *yuvarājabhaṭṭāraka* 'the Lord, the crown prince' as an honorific form of the simple term *yuvarāja*" (*op. cit.*, p. 450). We may, however, note that *bhaṭṭāraka* has also been used for an imperial king (e. g. Samudra-gupta, See *CII*, III, p. 9, line 31) and hence the possibility of *yuvarājabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya kumārāmātyas* being those who maintained were attached to the king as well as crown prince, or maintained a liaison between the two cannot be ruled out.
2. Ghoshal reports that only two such sealings have been found (*op. cit.*, p. 447). But, in fact, twelve were found marked with the same die (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, under no. 6) and one from a different one (*ibid.*, no. 7).
3. This epithet is commonly used for a paramount sovereign in the Gupta period.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 8.
5. Vogel suggested that *pādānugṛihīta*, like *pādānudhyāta* indicates the relation of a son to his father (as quoted in *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52). The non-mention of the officer's name in the present sealing, according to Marshall, 'makes it still more probable' (*ibid.*, p. 52). It, however, may be compared with *tat-pāda-parigṛihita* and *tanniyuktaka* of the Damodarpur Copper-plates (*EI*, XV, pp. 130-33), which seem to mean 'appointed by'. Marshall translates *pādānudhyāta* as 'a recepient of the favour' (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52).
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, no. 32. Two such sealings have been acquired by the Allahabad Museum from the same site (nos. 146 and 219) and one is in Shri R. C. Tandon's collection at Allahabad.

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the legend *Lokanāthasya* in *circa* seventh century or even later characters.[1] The device shows Gajalakshmī.

Select epigraphic evidence

Out of the numerous epigraphic references to the term *kumārāmātya*, only those that have a bearing on the appointment, nature of work, status, etc. of the *kumārāmātya* may be considered here.[2] These are :

E–1. *Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta*

It refers to Harisheṇa as a *sāndhivigrahika*, a *kumārāmātya* and a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and also as a *dāsa* (humble servant) of king.[3]

E–2. *Karamadanda Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I*

It has the following genealogy : Kumāravyabhaṭṭa who was a teacher of *Chhandoga* of the *gotras* Aśva and Vājin, his son Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa the latter's son Śikharasvāmin who was a *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya* of Chandragupta II and his son Pṛithivīsheṇa who was a *mantrī*, a *kumārāmātya* and subsequently also a *mahābalādhikṛita* of Kumāragupta I.[4]

E–3. *Damodarpur Copper-plates of the time of Kumāragupta* I

These refer to *kumārāmātya* Vetravarman as a *vishayapati* (district officer) appointed by the *uparika* of a *bhukti*.[5]

E–4. *Baigram copper-plate of G.E.* 128

It refers to a *kumārāmātya* who was a *vishayapati* and was appointed by the king.[6]

E–5. *The Amauna plate of Mahārāja Nandana, G.E.* 232

It refers to *kumārāmātya* Nandana, who meditated on the feet of *deva* (king ?) and *guru*.[7]

Possible interpretations of the term kumārāmātya

Divergent views have been expressed regarding the interpretation of the term *kumārāmātya*, so much so that a scholar has gone to the extent of

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1. *EI*, XV, p. 19 ; cf. also Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 448.
2. 'E-1' stands for 'Epigraph—1'.
3. *CII*, III, no. 1, pp. 9-10.
4. *EI*, X, pp. 71-72.
5. *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 130 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 81-82.
7. *Ibid.*, X, p. 50.

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labelling it 'mysterious'.[1] Comparisons of *kumārāmātyas* with other officials known to ancient[2] and modern[3] Indian administration have been attempted. Most scholars have tried to interpret the term on the basis of the two constituents of this term—*kumāra* and *amātya*. The interpretations thus obtained or likely to be obtained, however, differ significantly. These are:

I–1.[4] Junior Minister.[5]

I–2. A prince's minister, as distinguished from that of king (*rājāmātya*).[6]

I–3. Minister in charge of princes.[7]

I–4. A minister whose father is alive.[8]

I–5. One who has been a minister since youth.[9]

I–6. A prince appointed as an *amātya*.

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1. Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, p. 152.
2. Altekar: "they resembled the *amātyas* of the Maurya and Sātavāhana administration who filled similar posts" (*State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 339). The same author elsewhere writes: 'the *amātyas* who figure under the Pallavas, were discharging functions similar to those of the *kumārāmātyas* (*Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 282). Dr. D. C. Sircar compares this term with *amātya* 'a provincial governor' of Nasik inscriptions (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 268 fn. 1). Elsewhere, he compares it with *kumāramahāpātra* 'known from a mediaeval inscription from Orissa' (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 358, fn. 2).
3. Altekar in *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 282, fn. 2).
4. I—1 stands for Interpretation 1.
5. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 562-63. He writes: 'the most probable view is that the term *kumāra* in the expression *kumārāmātya* corresponds to *Pina*, *Chikka*, *Immadi*, *Ilaya* of the south and is the opposite of *Peda* (*Prauḍha*), *Piriya* (*ibid.*, pp. 562-63fn.).
6. Bloch in *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107; Fleet: 'Counsellor of the prince' (*CII*, III, p. 16fn); Beni Prasad, 'minister of the prince-viceroy' (*The State in Ancient India*, pp. 296, 437); Hiranand Sastri: 'the prince's or heir-apparent's minister' (*MASI*, 66, p. 35). Ghoshal points out that this interpretation 'apparently has its historical justification in the title *rāyāmātya* (Skt. *rājāmātya*) known to the administration of the Sātavāhana rulers of Western India' (*op. cit.* p. 446). The title *rājāmātya* itself, it may be noted, occurs in a Pāla epigraph (*EI*, XVII, p. 321 text and p. 325 trans.). B. C. Sen writes: 'Whether such *amātyas*....were to be attached only to the princes who had been appointed to provincial governorship or to all such persons whether free or in such service is not clear." Raychaudhuri thinks *kumārāmātyas* comparable to such *mahāmātras* of Aśokan times as were attached to *kumāras* (*PHAI*, p. 390 fn.).
7. Vaidya, *Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, p. 138.
8. *PHAI*, p. 562fn.
9. Bloch: *Kumārādārabhya amātyaḥ*, 'one who has been in the service of the king, from the time when he was a boy' (*EI*, X, p. 50 fn); Altekar '*Amātyas* since their youth, i. e. since the time of joining service' (*State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 339).

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I-7. (a) An *amātya* raised to the rank of a prince,[1] or

(b) an *amātya* enjoying the status of a prince of the royal blood.[2]

I-8. An officer who has been companion of the king while he was a prince.

I-9. An *amātya* who is (brave) like Kumāra (=Kārttikeya).

Evaluation of the interpretations

Of these, the interpretation 'junior minister' (I-1) does not seem to hold good as, according to epigraphic evidence [E-1], this title was borne by such high dignitaries as also held the ranks of a *sāndhivigrahika* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.[3] The *kumārāmātyas* like Vetravarman, appointed as heads of districts [E-3] and such as were subordinates to the *mahādaṇḍanāyakas* [S-10] do not seem to have been ministers in charge of princes [I-3] nor can they be said to have been ministers under the princes [I-2] as Harisheṇa [E-1], Śikharasvāmin and Pṛithivīsheṇa [E-2] were ministers of the Gupta emperors and not of the princes.

The rendering 'prince as a minister' [I-6] is not in keeping with the fact that these officers did not belong to the royal family. Śikharasvāmin and his son Pṛithivīsheṇa were Brāhmaṇas [E-2][4] which certainly was not the caste of the Imperial Guptas. The suggestion that an *amātya* could be called *kumārāmātya* if his father was alive [I-4] does not seem to hold good. Some political thinkers,[5] no doubt, recommend that kings should appoint *amātyas* from amongst those who had been their play-mates [I-8], but there is no proof that a separate category of such officers was ever created. We do have such expressions as *kumārādhyāpaka* and *kumārasevaka*, which terms have been interpreted as 'a teacher while still a youth'[6] and 'one who has been a servant since youth'[7] respectively. But that a whole class of officers

1. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XVII, p. 399.
2. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 358 ; also *Sel. Ins.*, p. 268fn.
3. Beni Prasad also holds the opinion that various portfolios were held by the same person (*State in Ancient India*, pp. 303-04).
4. Dikshitar states (*Gupta Polity*, pp. 152-53) that Harisheṇa of Allahabad P. Ins. who was also a *kumārāmātya* (E—1) was a Brāhmaṇa. But there is nothing to substantiate this view.
5. See e. g. Bhāradvāja : *sahādhyāyinomātyān kurvīta*, (as quoted by Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra, prakaraṇa* 4).
6. *Vide* Monier-Williams *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary, s. v. kumāra* ; cf. also Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 446.
7. Cf. also *PHAI*, p. 523 fn. The terms *kumārādhyāpaka* and *kumārasevaka* may, however, be also interpreted as 'a teacher of *kumāra*' and 'a servant of *kumāra*' respectively.

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was appointed in the Gupta period from amongst capable youngmen only [1-5] does not sound convincing.

The interpretation—'an *amātya* raised to the rank of a *kumāra*' [I–7a] was suggested by Jayaswal[1] on the evidence of the play *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa (Act II) in which we are told of the wish of a king to honour a minister by according him a welcome befitting a prince.[2] This suggests that the *amātya* in question was to be given an extraordinarily warm welcome rather than his being permanently raised to the rank of a prince. However, the term *kumārāmātya* would possibly be applied to a class of officials who, in recognition of their meritorious services and other considerations, were permitted certain privileges enjoyed by royal princes [I-7b].[3]

The above possible interpretations have been based on the translation of the constituents of *kumārāmātya—kumāra* and *amātya*. However, it has also been suggested with some justification that the term should be taken just as a designation of a class of officers who had nothing to do with the etymological meaning of either *kumāra* or *amātya*—the two components of the expression.[4]

The cumulative evidence of seals and epigraphs indicates that the services of the *kumārāmātyas*, like the present day Central Service officers, were utilized at the levels of the city [S-5], *vishaya* [E–3, 4], *bhukti* [S–3,4] and the Centre [E–1,2]. Altekar, therefore, suggested that *kumārāmātya* was a cadre like the I. C. S. and the present-day I. A. S.[5] But the same scholar also opines that the 'post of a *Mahābalādhikṛita* or *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was no doubt a higher one than that of a *Kumārāmātya*, for *Kumārāmātya* Pṛithivīsheṇa was promoted to it after some approved service.'[6] This would make *kumārāmātya* a post rather than a cadre.[7]

Ghoshal objects to Altekar's 'cadre' theory as well as to the view that

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1. *JBORS*, XVII, p. 399.
2. *Pratijñayaugandharāyaṇa*, Act II, *Kumārā-vidhi-viśishṭena satkāreṇa praveśyatāmamātyaḥ.*
3. Shri J. P. Misra kindly suggests that perhaps *amātyas* who had passed some test or crossed (something like modern) efficiency bar were granted certain princely privileges and hence designated as *kumārāmātyas*.
4. Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, p. 152.
5. Altekar in *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 282. In his opinion 'higher posts of ministers and general were filled by promotion from their cadre' (*ibid.*). Cf. also Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, p. 35).
6. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 282.
7. If it was a cadre, as Altekar suggests, then an officer of this cadre would be attached to a *mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka* [S. 10] in the initial stage of his service and would later rise to such high posts as *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* [E-1], *sāndhivigrahika* [E-1], *mantrī* and *mahābalādhikṛita* [E-2].

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kumārāmātya was the general name for a class of officials as suggested by Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Basak elsewhere.[1] According to him, the fact that the office of *kumārāmātya* 'was sufficiently distinctive to be used by later dynasts who rose to power during or after the downfall of the Gupta empire', belies 'the contention that they were the members of superior civil service or that they indicated a generic class of officials'.[2] But it is possible that *Mahārāja* Nandana [E-5], whose example Ghoshal quotes, was a *kumārāmātya* in the earlier stages of his career and continued to keep this designation even after raising himself to the status of *mahārāja*. As regards the evidence of Tipperah copper-plate seal [S-11], an old seal seems to have been used by a *kumārāmātya* and counterstruck by the seal of Lokanātha.

Ghoshal holds that the rank of a *kumārāmātya* "was different from (and in fact inferior to) that of the *mantrin* (the minister proper) is indicated by the joint title *mantri-kumārāmātya*."[3] But the expression should be taken to mean *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya*,[4] rather than *kumārāmātya* of a *mantrī*.

Ghoshal himself translates the passage *sāndhivigrahika—kumārāmātya—mahādaṇḍanāyaka* as *sāndhivigrahika*, *kumārāmātya* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.[5] Besides, the precedence in the use of the various honorifics would not substantiate Ghoshal's view, as we have instances where the term *kumārāmātya* precedes *uparika* and *vice versa*.[6]

R. D. Banerji took *pāda* to mean 'equal in rank' and translated *yuvarāj-apādīya-*, *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-kumārāmātya* as *kumārāmātya* equal in rank to a prince (*yuvarāja*), heir-apparent (*yuvarāja bhaṭṭāraka*)[8] and His Majesty (the emperor) respectively.[9] It is most unlikely that an official would be given a status equal in rank to that of

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1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 284.
2. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 446-450.
4. This has been translated as such by Sten Konow (*EI*, X, p. 72).
5. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 446. Had the intention been to convey the sense of '*kumārāmātya* of a *mantri*' one would expect words like *pādīya*, *pādānudhyāta* and *pādānugṛihīta* as is the case in S-7, S-9, S-10, E-3, and E-4.
6. In the Bihar St. P. Ins. of Skandagupta or Purugupta (*CII*, III, no. 12, p. 52, pl. 24) *kumārāmātya* follows *uparika*, while in the Deo Baranark Ins. of Jīvitagupta II (*CII*, III, no. 46, p. 216, line 9) and the Banskhera plate of Harsha (*EI*, IV, p. 211, line 8) it precedes.
7. *AIG*, pp. 73-74. Banerji writes : '*Pāda* is used often in the same sense as *kalpa*. *Gurupāda* is the same as *Gurukalpa* and means 'one equal in rank to a preceptor' (*ibid.*, pp. 72-73).
8. See *supra*, p. 105 fn. 1.
9. *AIG*, pp. 73-74.

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His Majesty, the king in the Gupta period when the king was referred to as a semi-divine[1] and even a high official who was himself a *kumārāmātya*, a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *sāndhivigrahika* described himself as the most humble servant (*dāsa*) of the king (E-1). *Pādīya*, literally 'belonging to the foot of',[2] should better be translated as 'attached to' rather than 'equal to'[3].

According to Shri A. Banerji, a 'rational interpretation' would be that the title *parama-bhaṭṭaraka-pādīya*—, *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya*—and *yuvarājapādīya-kumārāmātyas* 'were mere titles bestowed on officials, according to the relative merit and seniority of their services'.[4] Thus far it goes well but when he says that a "*kumārāmātya* enjoying the rank of *paramabhaṭṭāraka* ranked higher in the grade and got precedence after the sovereign, *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka* came next and so on", there arises the same difficulty which we have mentioned above while commenting on R. D. Banerji's opinion.[5]

It has also been suggested that 'the term probably refers to one who has a hereditary right to high office of state'.[6] Hereditary appointments have, in fact, been advocated by some important ancient political thinkers like Manu,[7] Yājñavalkya[8] and Bṛihaspati,[9] and instances of such a practice are known from epigraphic evidence. The Karamadanda inscription [E-2] shows that *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya* Pṛithivīsheṇa was son a of *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya* Śikharasvāmin,[10] but it also shows that *kumārāmātya* Śikharasvāmin's father Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa did not hold any office and hence the former had no hereditary right to the office. As regards the evidence of Amauna [E-5] and Tipperah Copper-plates [S-11], we have already discussed it above.

V. S. Agrawala suggests that "*kumārāmātya* was a personal title conferred on the highest dignitary by a king, like a minister, a commander, a member

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1. Cf. such expressions as *lokasamaya-kkriyānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya lokadhāmno devasya* in *CII, III*, no. 1. See also *Sel. Ins.*, p. 266fn.
2. Cf. also *History of Bengal*, I, p. 284.
3. Ghoshal refutes Banerji's translation of *pādīya* as 'equal to' on grammatical grounds as well (*op. cit.*, p. 450).
4. *JNSI*, XII, p. 44.
5. It may be stated that A. Banerji rejects R. D. Banerji's interpretation of taking the term *pādīya* in the sense of *kalpa* and yet, like the latter, thinks that *paramabhaṭṭāraka pādīya kumārāmātya* was enjoying the rank of *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (*JNSI*, XII, pp. 44).
6. Majumdar and Basak in *History of Bengal*, I, p. 284.
7. *Manusmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.), VII, 54.
8. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (Chowkhamba ed.), I, 312.
9. *Bṛihaspatismṛiti*, I. 71.
10. Cf. also *CII*, III, p. 35, where Vīrasena has been referred to as one who obtained the post of *sachiva* (*anvayaprāpta sāchivyaḥ*) ; cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 100, 26 where *amātyas* have been described as *pitṛipaitāmaha* (*Vide*, Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 280, fn. 5).

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of the royal household".[1] But it may be pointed out that the office of a *kumārāmātya* has also been mentioned singly, unconnected with any other official title or name of an officer as is evident from the legend *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* [S-2] indicating that a *kumārāmātya* had an office in that very capacity. This does not suggest that it was a personal title.

According to Dikshitar, the Gajalakshmī device, symbolic of wealth and prosperity, and the dwarfs (identified as Kuberas) pouring out coins on the *kumārāmātya* sealings, suggests that such officers were in charge of the treasuries of kings, crown-princes and local administration.[2] But the Gajalakshmī device was quite popular in the Gupta period and occurs also on the seals of some other offices such as those of *uparikādhikaraṇa*[3] and *vishayādhikaraṇa*[4] and also on the seals of kings and feudatories as well.[5] The device, being symbolic of prosperity, was much favoured in various mediums—sculpture, coins, seals, etc., in ancient India. Secularly, the anointing of Lakshmī by *gajas* might as well have been adopted on official seals with a view to conveying the idea of officials anointing the goddess of Royal Fortune (*Rājyalakshmī*) in the symbolic context. From the religious point of view, Gajalakshmī would have been an appropriate device for such an important office of the *Paramabhāgavata* Imperial Guptas as that of *kumārāmātyas*. However, we cannot stress this point too far as we come across a variety of motifs on the sealings of other officials of the same period.

According to Prof. Basak,[5] even the *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya kumārāmātya* [S-9] and *yuvarāja* (or *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*)*-pādīya kumārāmātya* [S-7 and S-8] were district officials.[6] In his opinion, Tīrabhukti was at first probably under the jurisdiction of Emperor Chandragupta II and had under him a *vishayapati* and the legend, given under S-9 above, refers to him.[7] But when *Mahārāja* Govindagupta (as *yuvarāja*) was appointed by the monarch to act as the Governor of Tīrabhukti, presumably with the title *uparika* (cf. the legend *Tīrabhuktyuparikādhikaraṇasya* on Basarh seal no. 20 in Bloch's list), the office or

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1. Agrawala, *JAOS*, LXXXVI, no. 2, pp. 67-75.
2. *Gupta Polity*, p. 157.
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109.
4. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 401 ; *MASI*, 66, p. 49.
5. *CII*, III, no. 40, p. 191, pl. XXVI.
6. Basak, *HNEI*, p. 311.
7. Cf. also the opinion of B. C. Sen : '....the administration of a province was generally regarded as a matter principally reserved for a *kumāra*. Consequently, those who were to be appointed as *vishayapatis* were usually recruited from the rank of *kumārāmātyas* (*Hist. Asp. of Beng. Ins.*, p. 530).

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court of the *vishayapati* working under him must have been named *yuvarāja* (or *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*)—*pādīya kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*'.[1]

The interpretation of Prof. Basak is, no doubt, ingenious but it does not seem to apply fully in this context. Some of the *kumārāmātyas* were, no doubt, district officers appointed sometimes by the *uparikas* [E-3] and at others by the king directly [E-4]. But the *kumārāmātyas* who held the rank of a *sāndhivigrahika* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* [E-1] or a *mantrī* [E-2] or a *mantrī* and *mahābalādhikṛita* [E-2] would have been closely associated with the king at the Centre and were not district officers. Moreover, the *yuvarājas* also generally remained in the capital and often carried on the administration during the absence of the king.

Taking into consideration all these view-points, we are disposed to take the *kumārāmātyas* to be a category of *amātyas* who, for some reason or the other, were granted certain privileges enjoyed by the princes and, like the modern Central Services officers, were appointed in various capacities in cities, districts, provinces and at the Centre as well.

Uparika

A sealing from Ahichchhatrā in the Antiquity section of the Archaeological Survey of India bears the device of Gajalakshmī standing with attendants and the legend *Śrī-uparikādhikaraṇasya* in Gupta characters (pl. XII, 6). A sealing from Basarh[2] bears the same device and the legend :

Tīra-bhukty-uparikādhikaraṇsya

The term *uparika* has been variously interpreted by different scholars. Bloch[3] and Fleet[4] are uncertain about the meaning of this term. According to Dr. Chhabra, the qualifications of an *uparika*, as laid down by Bṛihaspati,[5] indicate that he was to be invested with two-fold authority, judicial and administrative; his office may, therefore, correspond to that of a magistrate.[6] According to Dikshitar, '*uparika* was.....the designation of one of the ministers of the cabinet',[7] and since this officer had sometimes an additional

1. *HNEI*, p. 311.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 20.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
4. *CII*, III, no. 12, p. 52, fn 1.
5. *Avikāryo'vikalendriyaḥ pratāpavān subhagaḥ sumukho'kṛipaṇo'pramādīdaksho dākshiṇyacharitrarakshaṇārthamadhikaraṇa saṁdigdhavivekakṛiduparikāḥsyād*, as quoted by Dr. Chhabra in *Āchārya Pushpāñjali* Volume (in honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar), p. 233.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Gupta Polity*, p. 158.

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title of *dūtaka* in inscriptions,[1] he suggested that the *uparikas* might have been incharge of communications as well.[2] According to Saletore, the main duty of this officer was the recovery of a tax known as *uparikara* and, since he also performed additional duties, other titles were also bestowed on him.[3]

In inscriptions, the term *uparika* is, at times, preceded by *kumārāmātya* and, at others, followed by it.[4] An inscription of the Gupta period has *purapāloparika*, which has been taken to mean the President of the city-Governors[5] combining the two offices of *purapāla* and *uparika*. It may also refer to an officer of the rank of *uparika* acting as a *purapāla*.[6]

Epigraphic evidence shows that *uparikas* in charge of *bhuktis* were appointed by the king himself[7] and they, in turn, appointed district officers of the rank of the *kumārāmātya*.[8] Sometimes, the *uparikas* bore the additional title of *mahārāja*,[9] perhaps indicative of their being scions of ruling families.[10] In one case, the expression is *uparika-mahārāja-rājaputra-devabhaṭṭāraka*,[11] the *uparika* in this case probably being a son of the ruling king.[12]

Taking all these into consideration, Prof. Dikshitar rightly says that *uparika* (literally one who is above others) was a title of distinction, at times also held by provincial governors by virtue of their position in the governmental machinery.[13]

Daṇḍanāyaka

Several clay seals and sealings from Rajghat belong to a class of officers known as *daṇḍanāyakas*. An artistic seal, unearthed during recent excavations at Rajghat,[14] shows a fan-tailed peacock and the legend *Daṇḍa-*

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1. *CII*, III, nos. 26, 27, 30. pp. 120, 124, 134.
2. *Gupta Polity*, p. 159. Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar suggests that he might have been president of the Council of Ministers (*Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, LXXXV, Intro., p. 84).
3. *LIG*, pp. 260-61.
4. See *Supra*, p. 110.
5. *IHQ*, VI, p. 58.
6. *LIG*, p. 260. For the term *bṛihaduparika* in some Bengal Ins., see, *EI*, XII, p. 43 ; for *daṇḍoparika*, see *EI*, XIII, pp. 115, line 4 and p. 119 line 7.
7. *EI*, XV, p. 116.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 115 and 142 (text).
10. The title was frequently borne by the feudatories also (*CII*, III, p. 15fn).
11. *EI*, XV, 115 and 142 (text).
12. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
13. *Gupta Polity*, p. 243.
14. In the Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch., B. H. U., no. 1.

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nāyaka Kshandasya in Gupta characters (pl. IX, 4). The letter *ksha* is, in all probablity, a mistake for *ska*. The peacock, *vāhana* of the god Skanda, was appropriately chosen by the namesake. Another sealing from the same site[1] with a *chakra* flanked by a spear on the left and a crescent on the right has the legend *Daṇḍanāyaka Anuttarasya* in early Gupta characters (pl. IX, 2). A third of the same provenance[2] shows a bull recumbent to the left and the legend *Daṇḍanāyaka Satya(vratasya)* (pl. IX, 1). Two Besnagar sealings also belong to the *daṇḍanāyakas*. Only the word *daṇḍanāyaka* and a few other letters can be read on one of them.[3] The other,[4] of which two specimens have been found, bears a two-lined legend:

(*i*) *Chetagirikaputra*
(*ii*) *(da)ṇ(ḍ)anāyaka-Śrī-Sena*

'*Daṇḍanāyaka* Śrī-Sena, son of Chetagirika'. Several sealings belonging to *mahādaṇḍanāyakas* and *daṇḍanāyakas* have been unearthed at different sites. One from Bhita[5] shows an ornamental wheel on a pedestal and a legend of which only *mahādaṇāanāyaka* is decipherable. On a *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* sealing from the same site,[6] one Vishṇurakshita is called *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāśvapati* (pl. XI, 2). It is not clear whether he held the two offices simultaneously or one after the other. He has been supposed to have been associated with the ruling house of Kauśambī.[7] We append below a table of *daṇḍanāyaka* seals from Bhita.

S. N.	Symbol	Legend	Date	Reference
(1)	Uncertain	*Sa(e)naputasa daṇḍanāya[kasa]*	Kushāṇa	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 50, pl. XIX (not clear on the plate).
(2)	Bull standing facing with round object between horns.	*Daṇḍanāyaka Vaṅśa(?)sya*	Gupta	*Ibid.*, p. 55, no. 51, pl. XIX.

1. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6376.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 6372.
3. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 82, no. 5.
5. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, no. 43, pl. XIX.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 52, no. 32, pl. XVIII. See *supra*, p. 105.
7. Sircar in *AIU*, p. 177.

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(3)	Bull etc. as above; to the right of bull *śrī-vatsa*[1] and on its left a *chakra* in side elevation.	*Daṇḍanāyaka Śrī-Śaṅkaradattasya*	*Gupta*	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 54-55, no. 44, pl. XIX (pl. IX, 3).
(4)	Bull recumbent to left.	*Daṇḍanāyaka Lāḷasya*	-do-	*Ibid.*, p. 55, no. 46, pl. XIX.
(5)	-do-	*[Daṇḍa]nāyaka Keśavadāsa[sya]*	-do-	*Ibid.*, p. 55, no. 47. pl. XIX (not clear on the plate).
(6)	-do-	*[Daṇḍa]nāyaka Yajñavī[rya]*	-do-	*Ibid.*, no. 48.
(7)	Bull as above, behind it, radiate circle, perhaps the sun.	*[Daṇḍanā]yaka Uṁ(?)masya*	-do-	*Ibid.*, no. 49, pl. XIX.
(8)	Bull as above uncertain object(*yūpa*?) before it.	*Daṇḍanāyaka Grāmabalasya*	-do-	*Ibid.*, no. 45, pl. XIX.

A Basarh sealing[2] has a humped bull and the legend *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Agniguptasya* (pl. IX, 5). A terracotta sealing, recently unearthed in the excavations at Eran, simply bears the legend *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Siṁhanaṁdi* in early Gupta characters.[3]

The terms *daṇḍanāyaka* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* also occur in epigraphs. The latter even mention *mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka*[4] and *mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka*[5] —terms which have not been found on seals so far. All these are obviously derived from *daṇḍa* which means 'army', a 'rod' as well as 'punishment'. There is no unanimity amongst scholars regarding the exact connotation of these words.

Stein,[6] Marshall,[7] Vogel[8] and Bhandarkar[9] interpret the expression to

1. Marshall describes it as an 'uncertain symbol' (*ibid.*, p. 54).
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 17, pl. XLI, 18.
3. *Purātattva*, no. 2, p. 64.
4. *CII*, III, Intro. p. 178; *IA*, IX, p. 169, line 14.
5. *IA*, XII, p. 120, text line 27.
6. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, *taraṅga* VII, v. 951.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54.
8. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 123.
9. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82.

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mean a police officer; Beni Prasad,[1] Bloch,[2] Mookerji,[3] Banerji,[4] Sankrityayan[5] and Dikshitar[6] interpret it to stand for a judge. Raychaudhuri[7] Fleet,[8] Altekar[9] and Dr. Sircar[10] take it to denote an 'army officer' while Marshall, elsewhere, was undecided about its exact meaning and translated it as 'chief judge' or 'chief Officer of Police:[11] If *balādhikṛita* (also *mahābalādhikṛita*) and *daṇḍapāśika* were officers of the army and police respectively, it would be reasonable to suppose that the *daṇḍanāyaka*, in the main, was a judicial officer. Would the symbols on these seals and sealings help us in understanding the meaning of this term and the duties and office of that officer? It is significant that the eight *daṇḍanāyaka* sealings from Bhita invariably bear the bull-*lāñchhana*. Apart from being a Śaiva device, the bull is also symbolic of Dharma. This symbol would really be the most appropriate for a judge who was to follow the tenets of the law scrupulously and enforce it impartially.[12] The bulls on the two Gupta sealings have a spherical object between their horns.[13] It is doubtful whether the motif was borrowed from the Sassanians or had an independent origin, but it may be suggested that the symbolism in the present context conveys the idea of Dharma supporting the sphere or universe (cf. *dhārayati iti dharmaḥ*) and so should a judge uphold truth and law. On the basis of this interpretation of symbolism, it is tempting to suggest that the *daṇḍanāyakas* of the Bhita sealings were judges.

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1. *State in Ancient India*, p. 295.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109.
3. *Ancient India*, p. 331; *Gupta Empire*, p. 152.
4. *AIG*, p. 77. See, however, *ibid.*, p. 96 where, as an exceptional case, *daṇḍanāyaka* is translated as a 'general'.
5. *Purātattva Nibandhāvali*, p. 16.
6. *Gupta Polity*, p. 222.
7. *PHAI*, p. 563.
8. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 16 fn.
9. *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 343.
10. *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 364.
11. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53. For similar view, see also Majumdar in *History of Bengal*, I, p. 286, where *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* is translated as 'chief judge', 'general' or a 'magistrate'. On page 278, however, the same official is categorically stated to have been in charge of the judicial department. According to Jayaswal, a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, was vested with the leadership of *daṇḍa* (or administration) and signified the minister in charge of administration or the Prime Minister (*Hindu Polity*, pp. 307-08).
12. The bull, no doubt, occurs on the seals of other officials as well, but in the case of the *daṇḍanāyaka* seals from Bhita, it occurs constantly.
13. For bull with sphere between horns, see *CCAWKTB*, pl. XII, 326.

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But the sealings from other sites noted above bear either the same device (bull) or have a *chakra*, peacock, etc. These devices, to a considerable measure, are either indicative of religious leanings of their owners or suggestive of the military nature and character of their duties—the *chakra* being reminiscent of the *Sudarśanachakra* of Vishṇu and the peacock of the *vāhana* of Mahāsena-Kārttikeya, the General of gods.

Civil and military offices do not seem to have been divided in water-tight compartments in ancient times, both duties being often performed by one and the same officer. In literature and later epigraphs, the term *daṇḍanāyaka* (or *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*) has sometimes been used to denote a military officer or an administrator.[1] Sometimes the term is found combined with other offices.[2] The office could also be hereditary.[3] The title was also, at times, used by the feudatories, perhaps as a mere honorific.

The Army

The main purpose of maintaining a sizable and strong army was defence, preservation of internal peace and invasion of the territories of other kings in search of booty and fresh territories. But for brief interludes, political unity in a vast land like India remained an ideal rather than fact, and mutually warring states could ignore their armies at their own peril.

The seals and sealings at our disposal do not furnish any detailed information regarding army organization beyond mentioning certain high military officers, their designations and offices. Out of the traditional four branches of the army, the infantry, cavalry, elephant and the chariot-corps,[4] these refer to the offices of the first three only. The chariot-corps, as we know, had lost its importance with the passage of time.

Senāpati

A clay sealing[5] from Bhita shows the figure of a lion with a symbol, perhaps *śrīvatsa*,[6] in front and bears the legend *Sena(ā)pati In*....in characters of the Gupta period (pl. XX, 10).

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1. *EI*, V, p. 214; *ibid.*, V, p. 234; *ibid.*, XIV, p. 185; cf. also *PIHC*, 1961, pp. 71-73.
2. E. g. with *kumārāmātya* and *sāndhivigrahika* (*CII*, III, no. 1, p. 10).
3. E. g. *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Harisheṇa was a son of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Dhruvabhūti (*ibid.*).
4. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 33; *Kāmandaka* (18-24) mentions these four and adds two more viz., (i) the power of the council and (ii) solvent treasury.
5. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, no. 31, pl. XVIII.
6. Marshall thinks it to be a trident (*Ibid.*).

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Mahāsenāpati

A sealing from Rajghat, noted earlier, bears the legend *Mahāsenāpati Rudramaghasya*. Rudramagha probably was a king, as already suggested.[1] Perhaps he was formerly a *mahāsenāpati* and continued the use of this title even after becoming a king.[2]

Balādhikaraṇa

A sealing from Ahichchhatra in the Antiquity section of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi,[3] shows a vase-and-foliage motif and the legend *balādhi* in Gupta characters. This sealing, in all probability, belonged to a *balādhikaraṇa*. One of the impressions on a lump from the same site in the same collection has a similar device and the legend *balādhikaraṇa* in characters of the same period. Another impression is that of *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (pl. XIII, 5).

A sealing from Kanauj,[4] recently acquired by the Allahabad Museum, bears the device of a vase on a pedestal flanked by a *śaṅkha* on either side and the legend *balādhikaraṇaṁ* in Gupta characters

Two identical impressions (C and D) on a Basarh sealing (no. 572 in Spooner's list) show a bold heraldic lion with a legend of which only *balādhikṛitadati* is clear.[5] This obviously was the seal of a *balādhikṛita*.

Another Basarh sealing[6] has the device of a vase with foliage in the centre, a *śaṅkha* to the right and the letter *Śrī* to the left. The legend reads :

1. *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-*
2. *pādīya balādhi-*
3. *karaṇasya*

'military office attached to the *yuvarāja bhaṭṭāraka*'[7] (pl. XIII, 6). Vase seems to be the common device of the office of *balādhikṛita* although a *balādhikṛita* could use another symbol in his personal capacity. The officer

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1. *Supra* p. 38.
2. See *ibid.*
3. No. 4451.
4. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 219, pl. XI, 12.
5. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 146-48, pl. XLIX.
6. Indian Museum no. A11315-NS 6159. The same as *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 12, pl. XL-5.
7. Banerji, however, translates the term as '(The seal) of the office of the Commander-in-chief, equal in rank to the heir-apparent' (*AIG*, 74); Bloch translates it as "(Seal) of His Highness the *Yuvarāja* (and) *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the chief of military forces' (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108).

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mahābalādhikṛita known from epigraphic sources[1] is conspicuous by its absence on seals. *Senāpati* in earlier periods was the 'Commander-in-Chief'. Kings Pushyamitra Śuṅga[2], Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhī dynasty[3] and his son, Dharasena,[4] were styled *senāpatis*. But when high-sounding titles came into fashion, the Commander-in-Chief began to be styled *mahāsenāpati*, *senāpati* denoting a commander. *Senāpati* does not seem to occur in the context of a 'General' during the Gupta period, as the latter seems to have been styled as *mahābalādhikṛita*.[5]

It may be noted that according to the commentary of Kullūka on the *Manusmṛiti* (VII. 189), the *senāpati* had under him ten *pattikas* (the smallest leaders of the army) while the *senānāyaka* or a *balādhyaksha* ten *senāpatis*. In a Pāla epigraph we find the mention of a *senāpati* and a *balādhyaksha* as two different officials.[6] The qualities of a commander-in-chief have been mentioned in several ancient texts.[7] Spellman,[8] on the testimony of the *Mahābhārata*, points out that in earlier times the *senāpatis* were elected and consecrated, while in later times, they were directly appointed by the king. We have already referred to the views of several scholars who maintain that the *daṇḍanāyakas* and *mahādaṇḍanāyakas* were also military officers of high rank.[9]

Aśvapati

An oval sealing from Bhita[10] shows a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*. Below is the legend in characters of the fourth or fifth century A. D. [*Aśva*]*pati-Jayaṁtas*(*y*)*a* '(seal) of cavalry officer, Jayaṁta'.

Mahāśvapati

Another Bhita sealing has the legend (1) *Mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Vishṇura* (2) *kshita-pādānugṛihīta kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* (pl. XI, 2) already

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1. *CII*, III, no. 23, p. 108, line 20; *ibid.*, no. 29, p. 129.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 95.
3. *CII*, III, no. 38, p. 165, lines 2-3.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 165, line 4.
5. Cf. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 170.
6. Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, *EI*, IV, pp. 249 (text line 44) and 250 (text line 46).
7. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 33; *Kāmandaka*, 18. 27-43.
8. Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, p. 153 fn.
9. See *supra*, p. 117.
10. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 33, pl. XVIII, 33.

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discussed above.[1] To Marshall, it seemed curious that the functions of a *mahāśvapati* and a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, were both combined in the person of Vishṇurakshita.[2] It is possible that Vishṇurakshita's substantive rank was *mahāśvapati* but, at the same time, he also acted as *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* or else held these ranks at different times. An officer, it seems, could also use his previous designations.[3]

Bhaṭāśvapati

A Basarh sealing[4] portrays a boar in the centre, a *śaṅkha* on either side and, in the upper field, symbols of both the sun and the moon. The legend in the lower field reads *Bhaṭāśvapati-Yakshavatsasya*(?).[5] Yakshavatsa seems to have been a commander of both infantry and cavalry.[6]

Hayahastyadhikārī

A sealing from Besnagar[7] shows an elephant standing to the left, holding in its trunk a twig with a flower and leaves, and contains the legend *Hayahastyadhikār*(*ī*)[8] ('Officer-in-charge of horses and elephants') in the Gupta characters. It is interesting to note that the officer in charge of elephants had an elephant as device for his seal. The unpredictable elephant-corps, which sometimes proved as one of the causes of defeat of Indian forces, was considered an essential part of the army[9] as it could move through forests, difficult terrains and cross rivers as well as create panic in, and take heavy toll of, enemy ranks.

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1. See *supra*, p. 105.
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, no. 32, pl. XVIII.
3. Cf. Harisheṇa, who is described as *sāndhivigrahika, kumārāmātya* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. Perhaps, he was no more a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* which post was held by Tilabhaṭṭaka (*CII*, III, no. 1, p. 10, lines 32-33) or that the rank of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was also conferred on more than one official.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 18, pl. XLI, 15.
5. The reading of the name of the officer is tentative (*ibid.*).
6. See *PHAI*, p. 563; other interpretations are : Bloch, 'Lord the aśvapati' (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109); Banerji, 'Commandant of the irregular cavalry,' (*AIG*, p. 77).
7. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 81, pl. LII, 2.
8. This is the reading of Bhandarkar (*ibid.*) except that *a* after *y* has been omitted; but perhaps it was intended for *Hayahastyadhikaraṇasya*.
9. See *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Chap. 19, stanzas 1-3. In the army of Harsha, according to the statement of Hiuen-tsang, there were 60,000 elephants (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, i, p. 343).

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Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa

Three identical sealings from Basarh from the same die, showing Gajalakshmī with attendants bear the legend [*Śrī*]-*raṇa-bhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇasya* (pl. XIII, 4).[1] *Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa* was the office of the depot of the War Department.

Weapons of War

As noted earlier in our description of the numerous seals and sealings, we come across certain weapons represented on these. They are mostly depicted in religious contexts as *āyudhas* of principal gods but a reference to them as weapons of war would not be out of place here. We have the bow and arrow (pl. IV, 1-5), the *triśūla* (pl. IV, 4; V, 4; XXXIII, 4-8), *triśūla-paraśu* (pl. V, 2, 6), *gadā* (pl. XIX, 9), *chakra* (pl. III, 1; VI, 2), and *vajra* (pl. XXXII, 6, 9) on them. Even a cursory glance would reveal that these are generally associated with gods Śiva or Vishṇu, the last one being also assigned to the valiant war-god Indra. The *śaṅkha*, a very common device on seals, besides being used in a religious context, also served as a bugle. Many of them blown together created terror and panic in the enemy camp.[2]

To sum up, the *aśvapati* and *mahāśvapati* were cavalry officers of different grades. The *bhaṭāśvapati* was a commander of the infantry and cavalry; the *hayahastyadhikārī* was in charge of horses as well as elephants. The *senāpati*, *mahāsenāpati* and *balādhikṛita* were important military officers. The seals also mention the offices of the *balādhikṛita* and of a depot of the War Department. Some weapons have also been depicted. We come across a few representations of boats on the glyptics (pl. XXI, 6), but it is difficult to construe them as signifying a naval force; the government could, in times of emergency, easily convert merchant vessels into a naval force.

Daṇḍapāśika

A fragmentary sealing from Basarh has a standing figure holding a staff in the left hand with the legend (*da*)*ṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa*(*sya*)[3], 'seal of the office of *daṇḍapāśika*'.[4] The *daṇḍapāśikas* [literally, carriers of the *daṇḍa* (staff) and

1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p, 108, no. 13, pl. XL, 7 (only one has been described and illustrated). Bloch's translation is '(Seal) of the illustrious chief of the treasury of the War Office' (*ibid.*). Raychaudhuri translates it as 'Office of the chief treasurer of the War Department' (*PHAI*, p. 563); Banerji as 'Officer-in-charge of Military Stores' (*AIG*, p. 76).
2. It appears that each of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* possessed a conch (*Gītā*, I, 15-16).
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 108, no. 14; *ibid.*, no. 15, a broken fragment, probably shows the same legend.
4. Altekar, *State & Government in Ancient India*, p. 344; Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 295.

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pāśa (noose)] were evidently police officers. This designation also occurs in post-Gupta records.[1] The device of a man holding a staff is most appropriate for a police officer.

Āyuktaka, Prayuktaka and Viniyukta

We have seals of *āyuktakas*, *prayaktakas* and *viniyuktas* which belonged to more or less the same category[2]. An unpublished fragmentary sealing from Bhita in the Allahabad Museum[3] shows a flag-like device in the upper field and has the legend *āyuktakādhikaraṇasya* in Gupta characters. Another from the same site shows Gajalakshmī and bears the following legend in characters of *circa* fourth century A. D.:

1. *Māhārāja Śaṅkarasiṁha*
2. *pādīya(āyukta)adhi-*
3. *karaṇa*[4]

'(Seal) of the office of *āyukta* attached to *Mahārāja Śaṅkarasiṁha*'. A Basarh sealing shows a man holding a bull down by the horns and below occurs the legend *Prayuktaka..*(?).[5] A terracotta sealing from Dhalia (Hanumangarh) shows a *chakra* in the upper field. It has the following two-lined legend:

1. *Śrī Samakajika vini-*
2. *yukta mahādhikaraṇa(sya)*[6] (pl. XI, 6).

If our reading be correct, the sealing could belong to 'the great office of the *viniyukta*, Śrī Samakajika'.

The *āyuktas*, the same as *ayuktakas* of title-deeds[7], can be traced back to

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1. See e.g. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 285 (Pāla) ; *EI*, XIX, p. 73 (Paramāra) ; *EI*, IX, p. 5, line 5 (Pratīhāra).
2. These were, however, not identical as sometimes they have been mentioned together obviously as different officials. See e.g. *CII*, III, no. 38, p. 166, line 20, where *āyuktas* and *viniyuktas* have been mentioned.
3. No. 124.
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 34, pl. XVIII (the illustration is upside down in the plate). Marshall wrongly adds *adhi* in the third line instead of at the end of the second (*ibid.*). The seal is fragmentary. R. D. Banerji restores the legend as *Mahārāja Saṅkarasiṁha* (*pādānugṛihīta-yuvarāja*) *pādiyāyuktak-ādhikaraṇasya* (*AIG.* p. 96). This, however, is not possible.
5. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 19, pl. XLI, 17.
6. The reading is not beyond doubt. There is, however, no possibility of its being read as *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* as held by some (*PAIOC*, Lucknow session, Vol. II, pp. 236-37 ; *Catalogue and Guide to Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum*, Bikaner, pp. 24-25).
7. *CII*, III, p. 169.

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the *yutas* (*yuktas*) of Aśokan epigraphs[1] and *yuktas* of the *Arthaśāstra*[2]. According to Manu, the *yuktas* were a class of officers who were custodians of such property as was lost but later recovered[3]. *Āyukta* was a general term for government servants[4] engaged in routine work. *Kauṭilya*[5] and the *Jātaka*[6] stories refer to *āyukta purushas*. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, the *āyuktas* are assigned the task of restoring to the vanquished kings the properties seized by that monarch.[7] Another Gupta epigraph shows an *āyuktaka* working as an executive officer of a district.[8] Assigned special jobs, the *āyuktas* were called *niyukta* after their assignments.[9] The terms *viniyukta* and *prayukta* appear to be of similar nature.[10]

Koshṭhāgārika

A Rajghat sealing bears the legend *Koshṭhagarikana* in the Kushāṇa characters. Perhaps it was the seal of the officers in charge of the royal storehouses.[11]

Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka

A Basarh sealing[12] bearing the device of Gajalakshmī with attendants has the legend:

1. *Tīrabhuktau vinaya-sthiti-sthāpa(k)ā-*
2. *dhikaraṇa(sya)*

'(Seal) of the office of *vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka* at Tīrabhukti'. Bloch left the term untranslated and suggested that it denoted a class of officers entrusted with superintendence of the moral conduct of the people, similar to Aśoka's

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1. *RE*, III, (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 19).
2. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 5.
3. *Manu*, VIII, 34.
4. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, II, 3.40, *vide* Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 408. See also *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 8, line 26, trans. on *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, 1, 14.
6. *Jātaka* no. 512.
7. *CII*, III, no. 1, p. 8, line 26 ; trans. *ibid.*, p. 14.
8. *EI*, XV, p. 138.
9. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 4.69, *tatraniyuktaḥ*, *vide* Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 408.
10. We sometimes also come across the terms *yuktaka* and *upayuktaka* (*EI*, IV, p. 285). 'In post-Gupta period, *Tadāyuktaka* and *Tanniyuktaka* or *Tadviniyuktaka* appear to have become stereotyped official designations to indicate certain grades of subordinates and assistants of a higher officer' (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 359).
11. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 413.
12. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 21, pl. XL, no. 13.

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dharma-mahāmātras[1]. Raychaudhuri translates the term as a 'censor' (?)[2] while Basak[3] and Mookerji[4] take it to mean an officer with the duties of maintaining law and order. Banerji, arguing that the use of almost similar terms-*sthiti* and *sthāpaka* was unusual, suggested that it only meant that "the controller of the morals was 'the founder of the permanence of morals in Tīrabhukti' "[5] The expressions, however, seems to refer to officers who were establishers (*sthāpaka*) of the order (*sthiti*) of law (*vinaya*). They might have either been police officers or, as Bloch says,[6] officers of a class like that of the *dharma-mahāmātras* of Aśoka.[7]

House-holders

No. 26 in Bloch's list of Basarh seals[8] shows Lakshmī with attendants and a legend tentatively read by him as:

1. (*Vai*)*śālyām-araprakṛiti*-[*ku*]
2. *ṭumbina*[*ṁ*]

'(Seal) of the house-holders of Araprakṛiti(?) at Vaiśālī.'[9] It is difficult to interpret the term *araprakṛiti*. The legend shows that certain house-holders at Vaiśālī formed a separate group.

Parishad

A Basarh sealing,[10] three specimens of which were found, shows a human figure seated in Indian fashion. He holds the branch of a tree in the left hand while the right one has some indistinct object or objects. The legend, in Gupta characters, reads *Udanakūpe Pari*(*shadaḥ*),[11] ([Seal] of the *parishad* at

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1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109.
2. *PHAI*, p. 563.
3. *HNEI*, p. 312.
4. *Ancient India*, p. 331.
5. *AIG*, p. 76.
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109.
7. Altekar opines: "The state in ancient India was the preserver of religion and morality and the different steps that were to be adopted in this connection were taken under the guidance and advice of these officers....The officers of this department were known as *dharma-mahāmātras* under the Mauryas, *śramaṇa-mahāmātras* under the Sātavāhanas, *vinayasthitisthāpakas* under the Guptas and *dharmāṅkuśas* under the Rāshṭrakūṭas." (*State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 205).
8. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110, pl. XL, no. 4.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 109, no. 24, pl. XL, 12.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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Udanakūpa'). The *parishad* (council) seems to have been a local one.[1] The type of assembly, whether political, social or academic, is difficult to determine, for, not unoften, these functions were performed by one and the same body.

Anusaṁyāna

An interesting and much-discussed Basarh sealing,[2] ascribed by Spooner[3] and Fleet[4] to the Mauryan period, but perhaps of a slightly later date[5], has at the top margin, the part legend *Vesālianu*. Below this and almost in the middle are a group of symbols and the word read as *ṭakāre*. The lower field has the letters *saṁyānaka*. According to Spooner[6] and Fleet[7], the legend is to be read in the order of lines one, three and two, which would give the reading: *Vesāli-anusaṁyānaka-ṭakāre* (pl. XXI, 8).

Fleet translated *Vesāli-anusaṁyānaka* as 'touring officer of Vaiśālī', and suggested that *Ṭakāre* may be in the locative case marking the camp at which the seal was attached.[8] Spooner translated the legend as '(seal) of the Vaiśālī police at Ṭakāra (outpost),[9] and maintained that it was seal of the metropolitan police force at Vaiśālī fixed to some document and sent from Ṭakāra (situated in the vicinity of Vaiśālī) to the headquarters (at Vaiśālī). Whatever be the correct reading and interpretation of the legend—and there are many more suggestions in the field,[10] the seal refers to an administrative tour (*anusaṁyāna*). The term *anusaṁyāna* also occurs in the epigraphs of Aśoka in the same sense.[11]

Official emblems

The Imperial Guptas used Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Vishṇu, as their emblem. It symbolised their leaning towards the Bhāgavata cult as well as

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1. Cf. also *PHAI*, p. 560. The word (*Pa*)*rshada* also occurs in Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription (*CII*, III, no. 10, p. 44, line 9).
2. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 111, no. 800, pl. XL
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. R. D. Banerji ascribes it to first century B. C. (as quoted in *ibid.*).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
8. *Ibid.* He says: 'In that case, however, a separate new seal must have been made at each place from which any letters were sent; and such a procedure seems rather peculiar.'
9. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 111.
10. One scholar reads the legend as *vāsā 30 anusaṁyānakāle kaṭe* and translates: Thirty years (have passed); (seal) made at the time of the quinquennial inspection' (*ibid.*, p. 112). Another reading suggested is—*anusasāṁynā-kaṭaka-āre* meaning 'at the top of hill (?) (or camp ?) where the *anusaṁyāna* was held'.
11. See e.g. R. E. III (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 18-19, at p. 19).

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the subjugation of the Nāgas at their hands[1]. The seal of Dhruvasvāminī, the chief queen of Chandragupta II, has a lion as *lāñchhana*, indicating that the ladies of the Imperial Gupta house could use emblems different from their royal partners. Also, the representation of the *abhishekha* of Lakshmī overwhelmingly dominates the official seals, especially those of the *kumārāmātyas*. All *daṇḍanāyaka* seals from Bhita show the device of a bull. Peacock, vase and foliage were other popular devices.

A glance at the officers mentioned on the seals clearly shows that some old designations were retained, some modified, and a few new ones were also coined.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Population, revenue resources, historical factors, political exigencies and geographical considerations generally determined the size of a *bhukti*, *vishaya*, *naya* and several other administrative units. The same territorial unit might have been a kingdom, a province or even a district at different times according to the call of circumstances. New tracts were sometimes added to older units while at others fresh ones were carved out of the existing ones with some territorial adjustments. Their size, therefore, varied from region to region and time to time. Lack of information regarding the exact principles and considerations on which administrative divisions like *bhukti*, *vishaya* and *naya* etc. were created deters us from equating them fully with modern provinces (states), districts and *parganas*, though such is generally the practice for the sake of convenience.

Bhukti

We come across the first mention of the term *bhukti* (literally allotment) in Gupta records. In Northern India, during the period under review, the term generally denoted the biggest administrative unit corresponding to some extent to modern provinces or states.[2] Seals and sealings at our disposal mention the following *bhuktis* :

1. *Śrāvasti-bhukti*[3]
2. *Nagara-bhukti*[4] (pl. XI, 1)
3. *Magadha-bhukti*[5]

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1. *Narapatibhujagānāṁ mānadarppotphaṇānāṁ pratikṛiti garuḍājñāṁ nirvishīṁchāvakartā* in the Junagarh Inscription of Skandagupta (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 308).
2. In South Indian epigraphs it indicated a smaller territorial unit. See *EHD*, p. 49.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 52, pl. VI, a. For complete legend see *infra* under *Naya*.
4. See also *MASI*, 66, p. 52. pl. VI, b. For complete legend, see *supra* p. 104.
5. *MASI*, 66, pp. 51-52, pl. V, k. For complete legend, see *supra* p. 103.

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4. *Ahichchhatrā-bhukti*[1]
5. *Tīra-bhukti*[2]

The *bhuktis* were generally governed by *uparikas*[3] and, at times, also by *kumārāmātyas*.[4]

Vishaya

The *bhuktis* were generally divided into *vishayas*[5] which, to some extent, roughly correspond to the present-day districts. The officer in charge of a *vishaya* was styled *vishayapati*. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and supervision of revenue collections with the help of a subordinate staff.[6] The *vishayamahattaras*-'the council of elders in the districts'-known from Nalanda seals mentioned below, might possibly have helped them in this task. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the heads of the districts were appointed by *uparikas* in their capacity as heads of *bhuktis*.[7] The *vishaya* seals may now be noted.

A clay sealing from Eran depicts the device of Gajalakshmī and the legend read by Prof. Bajpai as

Airikiṇe Gomikavishaya....dīyādhikaraṇa [sya][8]

'[Seal] of the office of the district Gomika in Airikiṇa....' (pl. XII, 3). Airikiṇa was a larger unit of which Gomika formed a *vishaya*.[9] Another sealing, from Bhita[10] has the Gajalakshmī device and the legend:

1. *Sāmāha(?)rsa(?)vishayādhi-*
2. *karaṇasya*

'[Seal] of the office of the district of Sāmāha(?)rsa'. The two Faridpur

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1. *AC*-IV, 963, in the Antiquity Section of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 21, pl. XL No. 13. For complete legend, see *supra*, p. 104.
3. See *supra* p. 113.
4. See *supra*, pp. 103-104.
5. Sometimes the *bhuktis* were also sub-divided into *maṇḍalas*.
6. The *yuktas* and *āyuktas* would have been two such officers.
7. *EI*, XV, pp. 131, 133, etc. In the Baigram Copper-plate Inscription of the year 128 (*ibid.*, XXI, pp. 78ff, at p. 81, line 1) the *vishayapati* directly refers to the king without any reference to the provincial governor. This suggests that the provincial governor recommended names for appointments as heads of *vishayas*; appointments were actually made by the kings (*ibid.*, XXI, p. 80).
8. *Bull. of. A. I. H. & Arch.*, No. 1, p. 70 It may, however, be noted that only the partial legend *Airikiṇe Gomika vi* in the first line and *dhi ka* in the second are clearly decipherable in photograph.
9. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, no. 42.
10. *Airikiṇa* was also the name of a town.

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Copper-plates, one belonging to the time of Dharmāditya[1] and the other of Gopachandra[2] (first half of sixth century A. D. on palaeographic grounds), bear seals with the device of Gajalakshmī and the following legend :

Vārakamaṇḍala-vishayādhikaraṇasya

'[Seal] of the office of the Vārakamaṇḍala district'[3]

No. 27 of Bloch's list of Basarh seals has a *chakra*, the sun, the moon and the legend *(Vai)śāla-vishayā*.....[4] Very possibly, the seal belonged to the office of Vaiśālī district. An oval copper seal found in the course of excavations of the Ganga canal (between Hardwar and Kanpur) and now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, depicts a standing Gajalakshmī and has the following legend in Gupta characters :

1. *Śrīvadrāntapa-visha-*
2. *yādhikaraṇasya*[5]

It has been taken to mean '[seal] of the office of the district of the Warden of the Frontier of Śrī-Vadra'.[6] The identification of Śrīvadra with Shrinagar in Garhwal District has been suggested.[7]

Nalanda has yielded the largest number of *vishaya* seals. The one housed in the Lucknow Museum,[8] with a crescent-topped *liṅga* and two female worshippers, bears the following legend :

1. *Śoṇāntarāla-vishaya*
2. *adhikaraṇasya* (pl. XII, 5)

'[seal] of the office of the district of the Śoṇa-*doab*'. A similar legend and device occur on certain other specimens found at this site and preserved in various museums. Another Nalanda sealing, bearing on one side a *stūpa* and some other symbols, has the legend :

Kṛimilā-vishaye sapradhānasya

'In the district of Kṛimilā with the *pradhāna*'[9] (pl. XII, 4). Yet another

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1. *IA*, XXXIX, pp. 194ff, and 199ff, pl. IV, a and b.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 203, pl. IV, c.
3. Pargiter translates as '[The seal] of the government of a district in the province of Vāraka'.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110, pl. XLII, no. 49.
5. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 401-02, and illustration on p. 402.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
7. *Ibid.*
8. No. 49. 85.
9. *MASI*, 66, p. 54, pl. VI, f.

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Nalanda sealing bears the device of Gajalakshmī and has the legend in seventh century A. D. characters :

1. *Rājagṛihe vishayādhi-*
2. *karaṇasya*[1]

'[Seal] of the district office in Rājagṛiha'. *Rājagṛiha vishaya* also finds mention on a *naya* sealing discussed below. Two more *vishaya* sealings from the same site may be mentioned. One shows a goddess seated on a pedestal flanked by trees, with a crescent to the left and the sun to the right. The legend reads:

1. *Gayā-vishayādhi-*
2. *karaṇasya*[2]

Another has a figure of Durgā and the legend:

1. *Dakshiṇa-girau paśchima-skandhe*
2. *sapradhāna vishayasya*[3]

'[Seal] of the district with chief officer in the western division of the southern mountain' would be the rendering after Sastri.[4] This suggests that, sometimes, reference was made to a *vishaya* itself while at others in relation to a chief at its head.[5] If *sapradhāna* of the legend be suggested as the name of this *vishaya*, the legend would then refer to a particular locality in the *vishaya* called *Sapradhāna*. But the evidence of the seal bearing the legend *Kṛimilā-vishaye sapradhānasya*, referred to above, goes against this suggestion.

Quite interesting is the sealing of a *vishaya-mahattama*. It shows a deity, probably Brahmā, and has the legend :

1. *Kṛimilā-vishaye Kavā* (or *chā*)*la*
2. *grāme vishaya-mahatta-*
3. *ma-Narasvāmina*[*ḥ*][6]

'In the district of Kṛimilā, in the village of Kavāla, [seal] of the *vishaya-mahattama*, Narasvāmin'. *Mahattamas*[7] were respectable householders comprising the

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 49, no. S. 1, 794.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 50, no. S. 1, 799, 829, pl. V, h.
3. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 53, pl. VI, d. Sastri reads *Dakshiṇa-meroḥ*, but see the editor's note (*ibid.*, fn. 1).
4. See *ibid.*, p. 53.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54, no. S.1, 824, pl. VI, e.
7. *Mahattama* is the superlative of *mahat*, the comparative form of which, *mahattara*, occurs in the inscriptions, e. g. Damodarpur Cop. pl. Ins. of the time of Budhagupta (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 333) and Deo-Barnark Ins. of Jīvitagupta (*CII*, III, No. 46 p. 216, line 11) ; *Mahattamas* sometimes also acted as *dūtakas* (*EI*, X, p. 79, line 20).

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primary assembly of the village as well as of the district. Narasvāmin, resident of the village of Kavāla, was a member of the assembly of Kṛimilā *vishaya* in which the village was situated.

Some of the *vishaya* sealings refer to a *vishaya* alone and others along with its office (*adhikaraṇa*) ; a few refer to it with the chief officer (*pradhāna*) and, in one, the reference is made to the *mahattama* of the *vishaya*. The evidence of seals shows that a district could be named after its boundaries. Thus a *vishaya* situated between the Son and the Ganga was aptly named *Soṇāntarāla-vishaya*. We also come across expressions like *Antarvedī*[1] and *Kālindī-Narmmadayormmadhya*[2] in epigraphs for the regions between the Ganga and Yamuna and those in between the Yamuna and Narmada respectively. One of the seals gives us an interesting example of the change of status and nomenclature of an administrative division. Vāraka originally seems to have been only a *maṇḍala* (sub-division) but, when it was given the status of a *vishaya*, the earlier appellation, *maṇḍala*, stuck to its name. Similar other instances are also known.[3] The position of a *maṇḍala vis-a-vis* a *vishaya* was not always the same as there are instances where the latter was included in a *maṇḍala* and *vice versa*.[4] The same administrative division is known to have been referred to both as a *vishaya* and a *maṇḍala*.[5]

Naya

A Nalanda sealing, with a seated haloed figure holding a vessel in the left hand flanked by a tree and a flower, has the following legend :

1. *Rājagṛiha-vishaye*
2. *Pilipiṅkā-nayasya*[6]

'[Seal] of the *naya* Pilipiṅkā,[7] in the district of Rājagṛiha'. Another (no.

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1. *CII*, III, no. 16, p. 70, line 4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
3. Cf. Kheṭakāhāra and Kheṭakāhāra-vishaya [*Bombay Gazetteer* I, (ii) p. 382 ; *vide* Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 381], Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala (*History of Bengal*, I, p. 27), Karṁa-rāshṭra-vishaya and Gopa-rāshṭra-vishaya (*vide* Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 381-82).
4. See examples cited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 381-82.
5. Khādi-vishaya was also called Khādi-maṇḍala (*History of Bengal*, I, pp. 24-25).
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 49, no. S.l, 823, pl. V, f.
7. Dr. Chakravarti suggests the reading *Pilipinchchhā* (*ibid.*, fn.). A grant of Devapāladeva, however, refers to Pilipiṅkā (*EI*, XVII, p. 321, line 27).

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S.I, 821) from the same site, with the Gajalakshmī device, has in Gupta characters a two-lined legend:

1. *Śrāvasti-bhuktau na-*
2. *yādhikaraṇasya*[1]

'[Seal] of the office of *naya* in *Śrāvasti-bhukti*'. Thus one seal refers to *naya* as the sub-division of a *vishaya* while the other that of a *bhukti*. This suggests that some *bhuktis* were sub-divided into *vishayas* while others directly into *nayas*. The non-mention of the name of the *naya* is rather uncommon. It is quite possible that, like other *bhuktis*, the *bhukti* of Śrāvastī was also sub-divided into *vishayas*, but an area within the *bhukti*, due to some reasons or associations, could not be merged with the *vishaya* and retained its identity as a *naya* directly under the *bhukti*.

Vīthi

The word *vīthi*, as already noticed,[2] occurs on a Vaiśālī sealing referring to Agnimitra. It is difficult to say whether it had something to do with the *vīthi* known as an administrative unit. Later, we sometimes find *vīthis* forming part of a *bhukti* and, at others, being included in *maṇḍalas*.[3] An inscription refers to an *uparika* in charge of a *vīthi* as the immediate superior of a *vishayapati*.[4]

Adhishṭhāna

A Rajghat sealing in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[5] has the figure of a standing Gajalakshmī and the legend *Bārāṇasyādhikaraṇasya* '[Seal] of the office of Varanasi' in Gupta characters. Another sealing from the same site and in the same collection[6] bears the device of Gajalakshmī along with the following legend in Gupta characters:

1. *Bārāṇasyādhi(shṭhānādhi)*
2. *karaṇa(sya)*

'(Seal) of the office of the chief city of Varanasi' (pl. XII, 1). A Basarh sealing shows a hemispherical object and the legend *[V]aiśālyādhishṭhānādhi-*

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 52, pl. VI, a.
2. See *supra*, p. 23.
3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 28; Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 382; *Vīthi* is also supposed to have been a district on the bank of a river (*ibid.*).
4. Ghugrahati pl. of Samāchāradeva (*EI*, XVIII, pp. 74ff.).
5. No. 6375.
6. No. 6377.

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karaṇasya in Gupta characters.[1] One of the two impressions on a clay lump from Nalanda bears the legend *Gayādhishṭhānasya* in *circa* seventh century characters.[2] The seal attached to the Damodarpur copper plate (no. 5) of the time of some Gupta king, the first part of whose name is missing, dated G. E. 224 (=543 A. D.), has the legend, *Koṭivarshshādhishṭhānādhi-*[*karaṇasya*].[3] The legend *Tīra-kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* on a Basarh sealing[4] suggests that a *kumārāmātya* was in charge of the city of Tīra.

The term *adhishṭhāna* means a 'city' where the headquarters of the local administration were located. These sealings would indicate the functioning of some sort of civic boards in cities like Varanasi, Vaiśālī, Koṭivarsha, Gayā and Tīra.[5] The accounts of Megasthenes have familiarised us with a highly developed municipal administration in the Mauryan days and our seals and sealings attest to its continuity even during the Gupta period, though no details are available.

Grāma

Village, the lowest unit in the administrative hierarchy, has been the pivot of Indian administration through the ages and enjoyed considerable autonomy. Village seals, except the one bearing the legend *Vichchigrāma* from Bhita,[6] are confined to Nalanda and are either in the name of the villages or village councils (*grāmajanapadas*). This indicates that the entire village council, and not its head, was responsible for village administration.

One of the two impressions on a lump has a legend ending in *grāmasya*.[7] The legends on other village seals are :

1. *Pādapāg-grāmasya*[8]
2. *Udumbaraka-grāmasya*[9]
3. *Mallagrāmī*(?)*ṇa-grāmasya*[10]

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1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 25.
2. *MASI*, 66, p. 50, no. S.1, 827.
3. *EI*, XV, p. 142, pl. Va.
4. *Supra*, p. 104.
5. For similar views see Ghoshal in *Classical Age*, p. 345.
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 59, No. 109.
7. *MASI*, 66, p. 39, pl. III, b; the other impression is that of *Nālandā mahāvihāra*.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 41, pl. III, f.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 41, pl. III, g.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 41, pl. III, h ; Sastri's reading *Mallirasāla grāmasya* has been corrected by the editor in the footnote.

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4. *Aṁkoṭhasattā(?)-grāmasya*[1]
5. *Se[vattha]lika-grāmasya*[2]
6. *Nandana-grāmasya*[3]
7. *Dvitrā-grāmasya*[4]
8. *Taṭākā-grāmasya*[5]
9. *Kālapināka-grāmasya*[6]

The lumps bearing these village seals invariably bear another impression of the Nalanda-*mahāvihāra* seal. The significance of the presence of village and *mahā-vihāra* seal-impresses on the same lump has already been pointed out.[7]

Thirteen seals from Nalanda refer to the *grāmajanapadas*;[8] some of them belong to post-seventh century A. D. Out of those that appear to belong to sixth or seventh century A. D., the following may be mentioned :

1. *Purikā-grāma-janapada*[9]
2. *Ghanañjana-grāma-janapada*[10]
3. *Bhūtikā-grāma-janapada.*[11]

These sealings show that the village assemblies in the North-eastern India evolved into regular bodies called *grāma-janapadas* (village councils) which maintained some correspondence with the university of Nalanda. They must have met quite often to transact administrative business. The complete legend on the last-mentioned *grāma janapada* sealing runs as follows :

Śrī Nālandā-pratibaddha-Bhūktikā-grāma-vihārastha janapadasya.

It has been taken to indicate that the office of the village council in this case was located in a monastery of the village attached to Nalanda.[12]

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1. *MASI*, p. 42, pl. III, i.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. III, j.
3. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 42, pl. III, k.
4. *Ibid.*, pl. III, l.
5. *Ibid.*, pl. IV, a.
6. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 43, pl. VI, g.
7. *Supra*, pp. 17-18.
8. *MASI*, 66, pp. 45 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 45, no. S.l, 374, pl. IV, g.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 46, no. S.l, 9 R. 19, pl. IV, j. The editor of the *Memoir* reads the legend as *Ghṛitañjana*, etc. (*ibid.*, fn. 2).
11. *Ibid.*, p. 47, S.l, 9 R. 144, pl. V, a ; Sastri reads the name of the *grāmajanapada* as *Aṅgāmi*. But see the reading of Chakravarti in the fn. on the same page.
12. *MASI*, 66, p. 47.

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The term *janapada* also occurs on certain Rajghat sealings. On one, we have the impression of *nigama* and *janapada*.[1] On another sealing of the Gupta period from the same site there are three impressions—one of the seal of Haridāsa, another of a *nigama* and a third of a *janapada*.[2] The term *janapada* here seems to denote a democratic form of government in rural areas.[3]

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1. Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, pp. 91-92.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
3. *Vide* Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian History*, p. 174.

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CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND ICONOGRAPHY

Commenting on Babylonian seals, a learned scholar observes : "The religious inspiration of the seals is evident."[1] This remark is equally well, and perhaps more plausibly, applicable in the context of Indian seals and sealings. Their socio-political significance apart, these have figured principally as vehicles of expression for religious leanings.

Unfortunately, we are not aware of any Jaina seals or sealings, though Hinduism and Buddhism, the other two principal religions of India, find adequate representation on the glyptics. Not only do they corroborate the evidence of literature to a great extent, but also testify to the wide currency of the myths and legends, beliefs and customs, fancies and idiosyncrasies of the ancients.

Too often the evidence regarding political events and religious beliefs and practices gleaned from literature is subject to diverse interpretations and doubts, but that of the seals is oftener more positive, concrete and, in certain cases, even conclusive. Besides, the seals and sealings are relics of an age when no other media could be more easily available to the common people for expressing their likes and dislikes together with their devotion to the gods or goddesses of their choice.

Incidentally, the seals also indicate the gradual development and growing popularity of Purāṇic Hinduism on the one hand and that of Mahāyāna Buddhism on the other. Of no less importance is their depiction of, and adherence to, the established iconographic norms and concepts in portraying the various deities or their emblems or both. Their evidence may be examined in the light of the respective creeds and faiths to which they profess to belong. As expected, of the Hindu sects, the devices and legends pertaining to Śaiva and Vaishṇava pantheons are the most numerous.

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1. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collection of the Museum*, p. 52.

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SECTION I
ŚAIVA[1]

Śiva, with his Harappan[2] and Vedic[3] prototypes, is one of the oldest and most widely worshipped deities amongst the Hindus. It appears that Śiva was originally a non-Āryan god, and the Āryans, in the beginning, showed not only indifference but also contempt towards that deity. Gradually, this apathy and antagonism died out and the inclusion of the hundred names of Śiva in the *Śatarudrīya* text of the *Śukla Yajurveda* testifies to this reconciliation.[4] He combines in himself both malevolent and benevolent tendencies, most sophisticated and artistic talents and some repugnant and curious habits. The combination of these varied characteristics in one god is the result of an amalgam of the various trends of god-concept into one. For instance, his residence in the mountain and his association with forests seem to have resulted from the merging of the concept of tutelary deities of the forest tribes, while his association with serpents would reflect the influence of the snake-worshipping peoples.

Śaiva symbols and legends

The seals and sealings under review furnish interesting details about this deity and reveal numerous facets of his extraordinary personality. They portray him both in his anthropomorphic and aniconic forms and, possibly, also in theriomorphic form. We may first take up such seals that bear symbols or and legends connected with Śaivism and later those that bear the anthropomorphic figures of the deity.

Rajghat seals

The bulk of Rajghat seals and sealings lies in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, though some are also housed in the Allahabad Museum and

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1. Seals and sealings pertaining to divinities like Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and Durgā have been treated separately, though they also form part of the Śaiva pantheon.
2. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52-56, pl. XII, no. 17; cf. also Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 335, pl. C (F).
3. Cf. Vedic Rudra.
4. Amongst various epithets applied to this god in the *Śatarudrīya* (*Vājasaneyī saṁhitā*, chap. 16) are *Paśūnāṁpatiḥ* 'Lord of the cattle', *Kapardin*, 'wearer of the matted locks; *Śarva*, 'arrow wielder', *Śambhu* 'benign' and *Śiva* 'auspicious'. These names and epithets played an important part in moulding the iconographic forms of Śiva. Even the *Ṛigveda* (VII. 41. 1) represents him as discharging arrows and compares him with Paśupa (1. 114. 9).

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others, unearthed during recent excavations, in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University. A few may be seen in other museums of note like the State Museum, Lucknow, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, etc.

Two sealings[1] in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection bear *triśūla-paraśu* while a third[2] portrays the bull and the trident and has the legend *Sahasya* in Kushāṇa script. *Saha* is one of the names of Śiva. An interesting sealing in the same collection[3] shows, on a railing pedestal, from right to left, a tree, a *triśūla* and a bull. In between the tree and the *triśūla* is a *liṅga*. The sealing obviously represents a *chaitya-vṛiksha*, Śiva's weapon, his *vāhana* and his aniconic form.

Banerjea refers to a sealing of the same collection as showing a *liṅga* flanked by a *triśūla-paraśu* on the left and a double-pronged *vajra* on the right.[4] In Vedic literature, Rudra, the prototype of historic Śiva hurls a thunderbolt[5] and one of the names given to him in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is *Aśani* or thunderbolt.[6] On another sealing (now in the Allahabad Museum) occurs the device of a bull, standing, facing, with a spherical object between its horns. The legend, in Gupta characters, reads *Balanandi*.[7]

Three sealings[8] unearthed in recent excavations at Rajghat and now in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University show a recumbent, humped bull and a *triśūla-paraśu* in front. The legend *Mahādeva* occurs below the bull in Gupta characters (pl.XVI, 3). *Mahādeva* here undoubtedly stands for Śiva, whose *vāhana* is represented on the seal. Also, it is not improbable that the bull represents Śiva himself in theriomorphic form. Another inscribed Rajghat sealing in the Bharat Kala

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1. Nos. 6397 and 18910.
2. No. 6398.
3. No. 6465.
4. *DHI*, p. 188.
5. *Vide* Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 103.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
7. A theoretical interpretation of the sphere between the horns may be suggested here. Śesha in Vaishṇava mythology is said to be the upholder of the earth. It is tempting to suggest that the Śaivas placed the sphere, representing the earth, between the horns of the bull, to depict the latter as the upholder of the same. For another possible interpretation, see *supra*, p. 117.
8. Nos. 467, 468 and 1168.

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Bhavan has a *liṅga* on a pedestal flanked by a *triśūla-paraśu* on the left and a *vajra* on the right (pl. XIV, 4).[1]

A fair number of seals from Rajghat mentions names ending in *īśvara*. This is typically characteristic of the names of Śaiva shrines. A sealing in the Allahabad Museum[2] has a *triśūla* and the legend *Bhūteśvara* in Gupta characters. The expression 'Lord of the *bhūtas*' is a well-known epithet of Śiva. Another[3] in the same Museum has a bull and the legend *Hasteśvara(?)* in similar characters (pl. XVI, 9). Does it refer to the *varadahasta* of Lord Śiva who is well-known for granting boons without any consideration of the worthiness of the grantee (*pātra*)? For, the Lord is traditionally famous for being pleased with the merest triflings, granting boons even to the undesirable and often to his own discomfiture and embarrassment. But in case the legend stands for *Hastīśvara*,[4] it may be interpreted in the context of *Gajasaṁhāra-mūrti* of Śiva. This and some others bearing legends ending in *īśvara* may also have a reference to the initials of the founder. Another seal in the same collection[5] has the bull on a pedestal with the legend *Prāggeśvara* (*Pragīśvara*).[6]

A Bharat Kala Bhavan seal[7] has the bull facing two standards within railings and the legend *Deveśvarasya* (of the Lord of gods) in Gupta characters. Another has the device of a seated Gaṇeśa and the legend *Śrī Kalaśeśvara* in *circa* seventh century characters (pl.XX, 5).[8] The *Liṅga Purāṇa* associates *Kalaśeśvara* with *Śveteśvara* and relates the story of Lord Śiva emerging from a water-pot (*kalaśa*) and turning into Gaṇapati at the mere sight of the *Śveteśvara liṅga*.[9]

Bhṛiṅgeśvara (*Bhṛiṅgīśvara*) is another appellation of Śiva found on a sealing from Rajghat bearing a *bhṛiṅgāra* (vessel) rosary, crescent and *triśūla-paraśu*.[10] A reference to Bhriṅgīśvara is to be found in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of

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1. The legend on it seems to read *Manadityaraja(?)na* in *circa* second century A. D. characters; see also *supra*, p. 31.
2. No. 152.
3. No. 50.
4. Dr. Motichandra reads the legend as such (*Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 97).
5. No. 6.
6. Dr. Motichandra refers to a sealing from Rajghat bearing the legend *Prājñeśvara* (*Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 97).
7. No. 6408.
8. See also Pathak, *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 175-76, pl. II, 12.
9. As quoted in the *Kṛityakalpataru*, *Tirthavivechanakāṇḍa*, p. 99; cf. also Pathak, *JNSI*, XIX, p. 175 and fn.
10. Motichandra, *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 97.

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the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[1] Yet another sealing from the same site bears a bull and the legend [*Śrī*]*Gabhastīśvara* in *circa* sixth century characters.[2] According to the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*,[3] the *liṅga* was installed by the god Sun at Kāśī. Incidentally, this implies a happy blending of various cults e.g., the Śaiva, Saura and the Śākta, as its worship along with those of Maṅgalā Gaurī and Mayūkhāditya has been alluded to in the same *Purāṇa*.[4] The temple of Gabhastīśvara exists even to-day at Varanasi, near Mangala Gauri.[5]

A Rajghat sealing[6] shows a bull in the upper field and the legend *Avimukteśvara* in Gupta characters in the lower field. Another[7] has a bull with *triśūla-paraśu* within railing in front and the legend *Avimukteśvara* in similar characters. Still another shows, in the upper field, a couchant Nandī to the left and in the lower field the legend *Avimukteśvara-bhṭṭāraka* belonging to *circa* fifth or sixth century A. D.[8] In fact a good many sealings from Rajghat ranging from the Gupta period to *circa* tenth century A. D. and even later bear the figure of a bull and the legends *Avimukta*, *Avimukteśa*, *Avimukteśvara Avimukteśvarasya* and *Avimukteśvara-bhaṭṭāraka*,[9] all referring to the same deity.[10]

We may also refer here to a Jhusi sealing in the Allahabad Museum[11] (pl.XXI, 4) noticed by Dr. Chhabra[12] and Dr. Kala.[13] It shows a bull standing, facing left, with a combined *triśūla-paraśu* at its back. It contains a

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1. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, 33. 129.
   esha Bhṛiṅgīśvaraḥ śrīmānmahāpātakanāśanaḥ,
   jivanamukto 'bhavad Bhṛiṅgī yasya liṅgasya sevayā.
2. Pathak, *JNSI*, XIX, p. 176, no. 5, pl. II, 13.
3. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, ch. 49.
4. *Ibid.*, ch. 49. ; cf. also *JNSI*, XIX, p. 176.
5. *Vide* Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 97.
6. Allahabad Museum, no. 28..
7. Unearthed recently in Rajghat excavations and housed in the Department of A. I. H., C. & Archaeology, B. H. U. (no. 584).
8. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 171, no. 3.
9. In all eight are in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Pathak in *JNSI*, XIX, p. 171). Three-nos. 28 (referred to in the text), 38, showing bull, *triśūla-paraśu* and legend *Avimukteśvara*, and no. 48 showing a bull, *triśūla* together with the legend *Avimukteśvara*, are in the Allahabad Museum.
10. Avimukta is also another name of Kāśī. Instances of naming cities after popular deities of the place are not rare ; cf. Kālpī (after Kālapriyanātha), Amaranātha, etc.
11. No. 285.
12. *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, p. 12, pl. IV, fig. 2, bottom right.
13. *Jr. Ind. Mus.*, XIV-XVI, 1958-60, p. 3.

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legend below a railing (the latter forming a pedestal for the bull) which has been read as *Gosūtisukasa* by Dr. Chhabra[1] and *Stravavimuktasya* by Dr. Kala.[2] A comparison of the design, symbol and the legend with the *Avimukta* sealings from Rajghat reveals close similarity between the two and the reading of the legend may be *Śrī-Avimuktasya*. The god Avimukta was also called *Devadeveśa*[3] and *Viśveśvaradeva*.[4]

The etymology of the word *avimukta* has been explained differently. According to one version,[5] it was so called as it was never (*a*) deserted (*vimukta*) by Śiva and, according to another, because it was free (*mukta*) from sin (*avi*).[6] The sanctity of *Avimukta* is highly spoken of and, it is said, one could free himself from sins of even the most heinous nature by visiting *Avimukta*.[7]

A seal-die from Rajghat in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[8] bears the device of a bull and the legend *Pītakeévara* (pl.XV, I). A sealing from the same site and in the same collection bears two impressions ; the first and the larger one shows a couchant bull with the legend *Pītakeśvara* in Gupta characters while the second, the smaller one, shows a cock in full plumage.[9] Closely allied to this is another sealing from the same locality,[10] also bearing two impressions. The larger one, again, has the device of a couchant bull with the *triśūla-paraśu* and the legend *Pītakeśvarasvāminaḥ* while the smaller shows a seated bull with the legend *Avimukta* (pl.XV. 4).[11]

The legend *Pītakeśvara* on both these sealings is obviously the same as *Prītikeśvara* of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*. According to this *Purāṇa*, both *Prītikeśvara* and *Avimukteśvara liṅgas* were situated close to each other[12] and the two im-

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1. *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, p. 12.
2. *Jr. Ind. Mus.*, XIV-XVI, 1958-60, p. 3.
3. *Matsya P.*, 181.8.
4. *Ibid.*, 182. 17.
5. *Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇda*, 26. 27.
6. *Liṅga Purāṇa* (*Pūrvabhāga*), 92. 143.
7. Cf. *Mbh.*, Cal. ed., *Vanaparva*, 84. 79.
   Avimuktaṁ samāsādya tirthasevī kurudvaha.
   darśanāddevadevasya muchyate brahmahatyayā.
   The verse is treated as a later addition in the Poona edittion of the *Mahābhārata* (*Araṇyakaparva*, I, p. 292). See also *matsya Purāṇa*, 183. 11,
   Yadi pāpo yadi śaṭho yadi vā'dharmiko naraḥ,
   muchyate sarva pāpebhyo hyavimuktaṁ vrajedyadi.
8. No. 6307.
9. See also *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 170-71, no. 1, pl. II, 9.
10. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6306.
11. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 171, pl. II, 10.
12. *Liṅga Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Kṛityakalpataru*, pt. VIII, p. 111.

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pressions bearing the legends *Pītakeśvara-svāminaḥ* and *Avimukta* confirm the statement. No sealings of Pītakeśvara are known from the post-Gupta period, but the Avimukteśvara ones, as shown above, range between *circa* fourth and tenth centuries A. D. On the evidence of the Pītakeśvara and Avimukteśvara seals coupled with those of epigraphs and literature, Dr. Pathak concluded that, during the Gupta period, the Pītakeśvara shrine was more important than that of Avimukteśvara but lost its importance subsequently when the latter one assumed greater popularity.[1] Pītakeśvara *liṅga* still exists near Sakshi Vinayaka in the Kalika Gali, Varanasi, and is an object of worship.

The clay lump bearing the impresses from the seals of Pītakeśvara and Avimukteśvara shrines may suggest joint administration of the two shrines or else the priestly authorities of these shrines might have entered into a contract, arising, probably, out of some dedicatory gifts by a party or parties stipulating the worship of the two together.

The peacock device on the first sealing suggests association of the cult of Kārttikeya with Śiva. The *Liṅga Purāṇa*,[2] however, alludes to these birds flocking in and around that of *Pītakeśvara* held in high reverence by its devotees.

Several sealings from Rajghat bear the legend *Yogeśvara* with Śaiva devices. One such[3] bears a rosary, the crescent enclosing a dot, a long-necked water-vessel and a *triśūla-paraśu*. Another[4] bears a rosary and a water-vessel on the obverse and two *saṅkhas* on a pedestal on the reverse. Others portray a rosary, a long-necked vessel and a serpent (pl. XVI, 6) or a serpent with a trident on one side and a rosary on the other.[5]

The symbols referred to above are Śaivite in character. The crescent reminds us of Śiva as *Śaśāṅkaśekhara*. *Triśūla*, *triśūla-paraśu* and the serpent are his well-known attributes. The water-vessel and the rosary[6] are specially indicative of his *yogic* character which is further emphasized by the

1. *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 171-75.
2. As quoted in *Kṛityakalpataru*, pt. VIII, p. 109 ; cf. also *JNSI*, XIX, p. 172, fn.
3. Lucknow Museum, no. 42. 10.
4. Lucknow Museum, no. 40. 187.
5. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 188. A sealing with the legend *Yogeśvarasvāmi* is referred to in *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 408.
6. A Śaiva devotee is enjoined to wear *rudrāksha mālā*,
   Haste bahāu kaṇṭhe mūrdhni rudrāksha dhāraṇāt,
   avadhyaḥ sarvabhutānāṁ Rudravadvicharedbhuvi.
   (*Skanda Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Pūjāprakāśa*, p. 194).

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legend *Yogeśvara*. It has been asserted that the *Yogeśvara* shrine was a centre of *yogic* discipline.[1] It is, however, quite likely that this alludes to a shrine in Varanasi installing Śiva as *Yogin* or his *Yogadakshiṇāmūrti*. Dr. Moti chandra refers to other Śaiva seals from Rajghat, bearing the legends *Bhogakeśvara*[2] and *Gaṅgeśvara* (or *Gargeśvara*).[3] The former finds mention in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*[4] while the *Liṅga Purāṇa* refers to a shrine of Gaṅgeśvara.[5]

The word *Īśvara* is sometimes suffixed by *svāmi* or *dāsa*. The former, meaning 'lord', refers to the deity itself and the latter, meaning 'servant', to the devotee. A Rajghat sealing[6] has a bull with a *triśūla* in front and bears the legend *Baṭukeśvarasvāmi*. Obviously, it refers to a shrine of Śiva known as *Baṭuka*. Agrawala refers to a seal with the legend *Yogeśvara-svāmi*.[7] This seems to be another name of the shrine *Yogeśvara* referred to above. A Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing[8] has a bull and the legend—*Chaṇḍeśvaradāsa* 'slave of Chaṇḍeśvara (Śiva)'-in Gupta characters. Another, in the Allahabad Museum,[9] bears the device of a couchant bull and the legend *Matha(da)-neśvaradāsa* in similar characters. The name Chaṇḍeśvara reminds us Chaṇḍeśānugrahamūrti of Śiva while Matha(da?)neśvara may refer to the Kāmāntaka form of the deity.

In addition to the sealings bearing the suffix *Īśvara* (sometimes followed by *dāsa* or *svāmi*), there are also others expressly Śaivite in character with legends ending in *rudra*. Of these, one[10] bears a *ḍamaru*-like symbol and legend *Namo-svāmino Śrī-Skandarudrasya* (pl. XVI, 5)[11], 'Saluations to Lord Śrī Skandarudra', and another[12] a *śrīvatsa* symbol and the legend *Kārdama-karudra* (pl. XVI, 2) deserve particular mention. Skanda-rudra, in all probability, was the name of a Śaiva shrine at Varanasi and may be identi-

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1. Agrawala, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 408.
2. Motichandra, *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*. p. 97.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, Chaps. 33 and 91.
5. *Liṅga Purāṇa* (quoted in *Kṛityakalpataru*, pt. VIII, p. 104).
6. Allahabad Museum, no. 3.
7. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 408.
8. No. 6080.
9. No. 22.
10. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6324.
11. The last few letters are not clear. For this reading, see Agrawala, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 409, no. 10.
12. Allahabad Museum, no. 43.

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fied with *Skandeśvara* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[1] The name also testifies to an affiliation of the cult of Kārttikeya with that of Śiva. As regards the legend on the other seal, it is difficult to hazard whether the legend *Kārdamaka* with slight emendation, has anything to do with Kārddamaka Śakas. It may well have been the name of a Śaivāchārya, as suggested by Dr. Motichandra.[2] However, a temple of Kardameśvara Śiva exists even today on the Panchkosi Parikrama road in Varanasi.[3] It is not unlikely that the nucleus of the Kardameśvara shrine may be as old as the Gupta period to which the seal is ascribable.

Bhita Seals

A few seals from Bhita shed revealing light on Śaiva religion and iconography. A sealing in the Allahabad Museum[4] has a bull, couchant to left, with a crescent and the legend *devasya* in Kushāṇa characters. *Deva* seems to refer to the deity rather than to the owner; for, in the latter case, one should generally expect some ending like *datta*, *dāsa*, etc., before *sya*.[5] Amongst gods, it is Śiva who is more particularly referred to as *Deva*.[6]

A bronze signet ring from Bhita[7] has a couchant bull and the legend *Rudr(ā)ch(ā)rya*[8] in Gupta characters (pl. XV, 7a-b). Both, the device and the legend, are of Śaiva character and the seal may refer to a Śaiva teacher. The bull figure is also met with on several other Bhita seals[9] as a lone device while a few from the same site show *triśūla*.[10] A sealing from the same site[11] has a *triśūla-paraśu* flanked by a diagram of dots (hill symbol) on its right; on the left is an unidentified symbol. The legend, in Gupta characters (pl. XIV, I), reads: *Kāleśvaraḥ Prīyatāṁ*[12] 'May Kāleśvara be pleased'. Obviously,

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1. *Kaśī-khaṇḍa*, 33. 125.
2. *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 98.
3. Agrawala, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 409.
4. No. 125.
5. However, the possibility of *Deva* being the name of a person cannot be ruled out (see chap. VIII).
6. See Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 119.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 4, pl. XVII, 4.
8. The reading is doubtful.
9. 29b (p. 52), 30 (p. 52), 45-51 (all the seven belong to the *daṇḍanāyakas*, p. 55), 52 (p. 55), 54j(p. 56), 76a, 77a,78, 79 (p. 57) and 112 (p. 59).
10. nos. 10 (p. 49) and 93 (p. 58).
11. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, no. 14, p. 49, pl. XVIII, 14; it is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (no. A 11249-NS 1447).
12. For similar dedicatory formulas ending in *priyatāṁ* or *priyantāṁ* occurring in Kushāṇa epigraphs on Mathura sculpture, see *EI*, I, 386; *ibid.*, IX, 240.

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the sealing was a votive offering. According to Marshall, it was presented as an offering to some Śaiva shrine of that name at Bhita, but the shrine should rather be located at Varanasi, as indicated in the *Liṅga Purāṇa*.[1]

No. 15 in Marshall's list of Bhita seals[2] has a *liṅga* placed on a hill in the form of a pile of round balls with an umbrella on one side, a *triśūla* on the other and a wavy line below. The legend reads: *K(ā)lañjara-bhaṭṭārakasya*, '[seal] of the Lord of Kālañjara', in Gupta characters (pl. XIV, 3). No. 16[3] (of the same list) bears a *liṅga* on a pedestal with the 'hill' symbol on one side and a *triśūla-paraśu* on the other. It has the shortened legend *K(ā)la(ñ)jara* (pl. XIV, 5).

The hill symbol which occurs on at least seven seals[4] from Bhita represents, very possibly, the Kālañjara hill in Bundlekhand, a famous place of pilgrimage.[5] The wavy line may either stand for the river Ken nearby,[6] or for the Devahrada, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[7]

Several Purāṇas[8] refer to Kālañjara as a holy place. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* mentions the Śaiva shrine of Nīlakaṇṭha at Kāliñjara[9]; very probably, 'lord of Kālañjara' of the present sealing refers to the same shrine. Even during the time of Akbar, the Mughal emperor, this site is stated to have contained 'many idol temples' with one idol called *Kāli Bhairon* (i.e. Kāla Bhairava).[10]

The device on Bhita seal no. 26[11] has a bull standing to the left, with a crescent under its neck and a woman standing in front of it. Her right hand is outstretched and the left rests on the hip. Behind the bull is a post or a thunderbolt; in exergue, are a bow and arrow and a pile of balls (mountain symbol). Similar devices also occur on seal numbers 27 (pl. IV, 4)

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1. As quoted in *Kṛityakalpataru*, pl. VIII (*Tīrthavivechanakāṇḍa*), p. 72. The worship of Śiva as Kāleśvara, Mahākāleśvara and Kālapriyanātha is well known.
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 49, pl. XVIII, 15; Indian Museum (no. A 11252—NS 1440).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 49, pl. XVIII, 16, now in Indian Museum (no. A11250—NS 1445).
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, nos. 14-16, (pl. XVIII), 25-27 (pl. XVIII), 28 (see *ibid.*, p. 51). According to Marshall, it also occurs on no. 86 (*ibid.*, p. 47) but pl. XX illustrating no. 86 does not show this.
5. *Mbh.* (Cal. ed.), *Vanaparva*, 85. 56-57.
6. *IHQ*, XXIX, p. 225.
7. *DHI*, p. 183, fn.
8. *Vāyu P.*, 77. 93; *Vāmana P.*, 84. 27; *Kūrma P.*, *Purvārddha*, 135. 12; see also *HDS*, IV, p. 760, under the list of *Tīrthas*.
9. *Vāmana P.*, 84. 27.
10. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 159.
11. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, pl. XVIII.

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and 28.[1] No. 75[2] of the same list shows the device of a bull, a woman and a *triśūla-paraśu*. The last one is dated to the fourth or fifth century and the rest in the second or third century A. D. by Marshall.

The mountain, the *triśūla-paraśu* and the crescent are well-known Śaiva devices.[3] As regards the bow and arrow, Śiva, who is said to have been in possession of the *pāśupatāstra*, is also called Śarva, 'wielder of the arrow', and Pināk in, 'wielder of the *pināka* bow'. The female figure thereon has been identified with Durgā[4]—quite plausible in the context.

Jhusi seals

A Jhusi sealing[5] bears the legend *Īśvaranandisya*[6] in Gupta characters, with a humped bull, couchant to the right (pl. XV, 6). Another[7] shows a humped bull in the centre with a *triśūla*-like symbol in front. Above the bull is a circle enclosing a dot and below its face are some dots so arranged as to represent the hill symbol.

Some terracotta sealings from Jhusi in the Allahabad Museum bear the legend *dhama*. They bear the device of a *triśūla* or *triśūla-paraśu* (pl. XXIX, 4).[8] One seal[9] from the same site has the legend *varadhama* and the device of a *triśūla*.

Datable as these are between *circa* 100 and 300 A. D., the Śaivite association of these sealings is evident from the symbols *triśūla* and *triśūla-paraśu*. It appears that the sealings were distributed amongst devotees by some Śaiva temple-priest.

Kauśāmbī seals

An oval clay sealing from Kauśāmbī in the collection of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University,

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1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, pl. XVIII (now in Indian Museum, no. A 12255—NS 1477).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
3. Śiva himself is called *Triśṛiṅga Parvata*. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Ost-Asiatische Zeitschrift*, 1927-28, p. 179, as quoted by Banerjea in *DHI*, p. 109. The crescent above the hill may be the aniconic representation of Śiva (*ibid.*).
4. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 184.
5. Allahabad Museum, no. 328.
6. The legend is corrupt.
7. Allahahad Museum, no. 427.
8. The one illustrated is no. 244. Cf. also *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, pl. 4, fig. 2, top left. No. 243 also has identical device while no. 235 has a lone *paraśu*. We are reminded of a Nasik sealing bearing the letters *dha ma sa* inscribed twice from left to right and right to left (Sankalia and Deo, *Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, 1950-51, p. 82, pl. XVI, 4).
9. No. 260. See also *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, pl. IV, fig. 2, bottom left.

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bears three symbols, the main one having the appearance of a structure with pyramidal roof supported on columns. The other two are combined *triśūla-paraśu* on a platform and a tree with roots. The legend on the sealing reads:

1. *Lapotekasya*
2. *Bhagvata ga....*[1] (pl. XIV, 6).

The symbolism clearly suggests its Śaiva character and the main symbol is perhaps an attempt to represent the shrine itself. *Lapoteka* is either a place or the name of the person who got the shrine built. It could also be the local name of Śiva. An uninscribed sealing in the Allahabad Museum[2] shows a tree (*liṅga*?) flanked by a *triśūla-paraśu* on either side. These are placed on pedestals or platforms suggested by four horizontal lines.

Basarh seals

We may now pass on to Basarh seals and sealings having Śaiva characteristics. One of these[3] bears a *liṅga* on *yonipīṭha*[4] and a *triśūla-paraśu*.[5] The legend reads: *Āmrātakeśvara*, 'the lord of Āmrātaka' (pl. XIV, 2). *Āmrātakeśvara* is mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as one of the eight *guhya-liṅgas* situated in Avimukta, Varanasi.[6] Bloch had, at one time, regarded this as "the oldest representation of the phallic emblem that has as yet been found in India."[7] But as a result of excavations at Harappan sites, the antiquity of the phallic emblem in India has now been pushed back to at least the third millennium B. C. Āmrātakeśvara shrine was so famous that the Ahom kings of Assam built a temple of Śiva by that name in the village of Ramsa in Kāmarūpa district.[8] It finds mention in an eighteenth century inscription from the same district.[9] The present sealing seems to have been attached to some letter sent by the custodian of the Āmrātakeśvara temple to some one at Basarh.

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1. Prof. Sharma kindly gave me a typed copy of his Memoir on Kauśāmbī, then (1964) in press. The reading given therein is *Bhapotikasya Bhagavata gaha.*
2. Allahabad Museum, no. 118.
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 74, 104, 110, no. 30, pl. XL, 2.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
5. Bloch has described it simply as *triśūla* (*ASIAR*, 1903-4, p. 110).
6. The other seven being *Hariśchandra, Jāleśvara, Śrīparvata, Mahālaya, Kṛimichaṇḍeśvara, Kedāra* and *Mahābhairava* (*Matsya P.*, 181. 28-29). For Āmrātakeśvara shrine (also, see) *Matsya P.*, 22, 51.
7. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 106.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 104 fn ; Banerji, *AIG*, p. 116.
9. *Vide* Banerji, *AIG*, p. 116.

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Another interesting sealing from the same site[1] bearing the legend *Aramikīśvarasya* in Gupta characters has five emblems placed on separate pedestals (pl. XVI, 7). Those on the two extremes are flower vases (*maṅgala-ghaṭas*). The second and the fourth from the left are a spear and a *triśūla-paraśu* respectively. The symbol in the centre, as suggested by Banerjea, may represent a schematic *liṅga*[2]—the object of worship. The sealing thus depicts the main elements of a Śaiva shrine except the temple itself. No. 226 of Spooner's list bears the legend *Rājadharmeśvara(sya)* as read by him.[3] This probably was a sealing of a Śaiva shrine, Rājadharmeśvara.

A seal matrix from the same site[4] bears the legend *Banjulaka*[5] in early Gupta characters and has three symbols. The central one is undeniably a *triśūla*. The one on the right has been identified by Banerjea as 'a longish water vessel' and the one on the left as 'a short staff'.[6] Both appear in the hands of Śiva on Kushāṇa coins. According to Banerjea's identification, all three symbols are characteristically Śaivite. *Baṁjulā* occurs as the name of a river in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.[7]

Seal no. 3 in Bloch's list, of which six specimens are known, simply bears a legend in Gupta characters read by Bloch as *Nama(ḥ) Paśupate(ḥ)*, 'salutations to Paśupati (Śiva)'.[8] Epigraphic evidence attests the religious activities of the Pāśupatas in the Gupta period.[9]

Nalanda seals

Equally interesting are the Śaiva seals and sealings from Nalanda. The

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 142, no. 369, pl. XLVIII ; no. 396 in the same list is a duplicate of this.
2. *DHI*, pp. 180-81; Spooner describes this as 'the outline of a stouter tree with spreading base' (*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 142).
3. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 135, no. 226.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 176, no. 574, pl. XLIX, 574.
5. Spooner says that Banjulaka is for Vanjulaka (*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 178).
6. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 179. Spooner did not identify these and merely described them as resembling Brāhmī characters for *dhu* and *ra* respectively (*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 118).
7. *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, II. 16.31-32 (from Ṛiksha), II. 16.34 (from the foot of the Vindhyas), II. 16.37 (from Mahendra).
8. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111. The legend is corrupt; its grammatically correct form should be *Paśupataye*. According to some, *Paśupati*, in the earlier phase of Śaivism was applied to Śiva because of his supposed association with animals and the curious seated figure, on a Mohenjo-daro seal, represented with a tiger, an elephant, a rhino, a buffalo(?) and a pair of deer (*MIC*, I, pp. 52-56, pl. XII, 17), is identified as a proto-type of Śiva Paśupati. Cf. the formula *Namo Mahādevāya* occurring at the beginning of *CII*, III, no. 21 (p. 95) ; *ibid.*, no. 22 (p. 102), *ibid.*, No. 23 (p. 107).
9. *EI*, XXI, pp. 5-8.

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grāma-janapada sealing no. S. 9, 56[1] has a *liṅga*[2] on a pedestal with a *triśūla* to the right and a bull[3] to the left. The sealing thus represents Śiva's weapon, his aniconic form and his *vāhana*.

A large number of clay sealings from the same site bear *Śivaliṅgas* between two beautifully depicted trees and the legend *Pādapāggrāmasya* in Gupta characters (pl. XVI, 4).[4] We may also refer to a sealing in Shri Dhir Singh Nahar's collection in Calcutta, as noticed by Banerjea. It bears a similar device of the *liṅga* and a tree with the legend *Pādapeśvara*.[5]

A seal of the district officer at Nalanda has the device of a crescent-topped *liṅga* flanked by two female attendants, one on either side.[6] The device may represent Śiva—*Śaśāṅkaśekhara*—in his aniconic form. We may, in this context, also note a sealing from Basarh showing a bull facing to the right and the crescent above it.[7] This was interpreted by Banerjea as Śiva in theriomorphic form with a crescent on the head (Śaśāṅkaśekhara).[8] A sealing from Lachhagir, in the Allahabad Museum, showing a bull recumbent to the right with a *triśūla-paraśu* in front and a crescent above, may also be similarly interpreted. The legend [*Bha*]*galasya* is in Gupta characters and refers to an individual who was a Śaivite (pl. XV, 2).

Seals from other sites

A sealing from Sahet Mahet[9] shows a *Śivaliṅga* on a pedestal with *triśūla-paraśu* to its right and a goad (*aṅkuśa*) on the left. Above the *liṅga* are a crescent and a star, and a wavy line below, perhaps depicting a snake. The much defaced legend in Gupta characters has tentatively been read by Marshall as *Bhagavatondhakeśvarasya*.[10] The expression seems to be an

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 47, pl. VB.
2. Sastri describes it as a *stūpa* (*ibid.*). There seems to be a solar symbol above the *liṅga*.
3. Sastri, 'horned animal' (*ibid.*).
4. Cf. also *MASI*, 66, p. 41, pl. III, 6. We have seen these in various museums of northern India, to wit, National Museum of India, New Delhi, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta, Mathura and Lucknow Museums.
5. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 114, p. 179.
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 51, no. S. I, 790, pl. Vj.
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 121, 150, no. 672, pl. L., 672.
8. *DHI*, p. 180. We may, however, note that on no. 26 of Marshall's list of Bhita seals, the crescent is shown below (not above) the neck of the bull (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51).
9. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 19, no. 3.
10. *Ibid.*

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epithet of Śiva, who is also known as *Andhakaripu*. *Andhakeśa*, however, occurs in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* as the name of a *Śivaliṅga* established by *Andhaka*.[1]

Some seals from Sunet in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, also bear Śaiva devices.[2] One has the lone symbol of a *triśūla* (pl. XXXIII, 7). Another[3] bears both a *triśūla* and Nandī. Yet another[4] bears a *triśūla* and the legend *Rudraśarma* on the obverse; the reverse bears the same symbol and the legend *Jajjasya*. Still another[5] has a *triśūla-paraśu* and a vase. A number of sealings from Jhukar and datable to *circa* fifth century A. D. bear the legend *Śrī-Karpari-Harasya*, i.e. of Hara (Śiva), the wearer of skulls.[6]

A terracotta sealing from Bhir Mound (Taxila) bears on both sides the figure of a humped bull standing to the left with a *nandipada* above the hump.[7] A sealing from Kumrahar has the device of Nandī and the legend *Vishṇunandi* in Gupta characters.[8] Another one from the same site has the same device and the legend *Īśvaradāsa* in similar characters.[9] An unnumbered sealing in the Banda Museum[10] shows a symbol which is defaced (most probably it represents a bull) and bears the legend *nam(o) Haraye* ('Salutations to Hara') in early Gupta characters.[11]

We come across the representation of a decorated bull with an umbrella canopy on the Maukhari seals from Asirgadh and Nalanda.[12] Ahead and behind the bull are human figures carrying respectively a double-axe and a sunshade(?) and a double-axe and a chowrie (pl. VI, 2; VII, 1).[13] Evidently, the bull stands for Nandī, the *vāhana* of Śiva and the two figures

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1. *Liṅga Purāṇa*, as quoted in *Kṛityakalpataru*, pl. VIII, p. 65 ;
   Dakshiṇena tu tasyaiva Andhakeśeti nāmataḥ,
   tatra liṅgaṁ Mahatpuṇyaṁ Andhakena pratishṭhitam.
2. Indian Museum, no. A12871-NS 4692.
3. *Ibid*, no. A12878-NS 4699.
4. *Ibid.*, no. A12864-NS 4680.
5. *Ibid.*, no. A12874-NS 4695.
6. *MASI*, 48, p. 9, pl. XIV, 3.
7. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 682, no. 41 ; *ibid.*, III. pl. 207, no. 26.
8. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 104, no. 13, pl. XXXII, no. 7.
9. *Ibid.*, no. 14, pl. XXXII, 10.
10. We are grateful to Shri Mahavir Singh and Shri M. L. Nigam for kindly making the seals in the collection of this Museum available for study at Lucknow.
11. Cf. *namo Mahādevāya* at the beginning of the Karamdanda Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I, G.E. 117=A.D. 436 (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 289).
12. *Supra*, p. 77.
13. Asirgadh (see also *CII*, pl. XXX, facing p. 220) and Nalanda seals of Śarvavarman.

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appear to be *Śiva-gaṇas*, acting as body-guards.[1] The Śaiva device is quite appropriate on the Maukhari seals, as the kings of this dynasty are known to have been *Parama-māheśvaras*.

Of the various Śaiva devices the *liṅga* is, undoubtedly, the most important. In fact, it is generally *liṅga* rather than the figure of Śiva which serves as the cult-icon in a Śaiva temple. The phallus originally seems to have been just a symbol of procreation and was worshipped in several ancient cultures. In India, however, it came to be specially connected with Śiva. It is not known whether the Harappans worshipped phallus[2] independently or as an aniconic representation of the figure which Marshall has identified as the proto-type of Śiva-Paśupati.[3] The early Āryans looked down upon phallus-worshippers.[4] In course of time, however, phallus-worship was introduced amongst the Āryans as a result of mutual give and take. Glyptic representations of the *liṅga* are generally stylized; only a few show these more or less realistically[5] (pl. XIV, 3). On seals, we do not come across representations of the *mukhaliṅgas*, so well known in sculpture.

Anthropomorphic representations of Śiva

We have hitherto confined ourselves to a description and discussion of the Śaiva symbols and devices on these seals and sealings. It is now proposed to take notice of the anthropomorphic representations of the deity on such glyptic remains.

Taxila seals

A copper seal from Taxila shows the figure of Śiva with a trident in the left hand and a club in the right. There is a *svastika* and *nandipada* symbol together with the legend recording the name of Śivarakshita

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1. See also *PIHC*, 1946, pp. 75-76. The bull, according to Sastri, stands for *Dharma* and the figures for *Chaṇḍālas*; the intention intended to be conveyed was that the tampering of a seal was as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *Dharma* (*EI*, XXI, pp. 73-74).
2. Marshall, *MIC*, I, pp. 58-63.
3. For this identification of a figure on Mohenjo-daro seal, see Marshall, *ibid.*, I., pp. 52-56, pl. 12, 17.
4. *Ṛigveda*, VII, 21.5 ; X. 99.3.
5. In sculpture, the earlier *liṅgas* such as those from Gudimallam (Rao, *EHI*, II(i) pp. 65 ff. and pl. II facing p. 66) and Bhita (*ibid.*, p. 65 and pl. facing p. 65) are more or less realistic. But the tendency was towards stylization and the *liṅga* was no more considered as a rude symbol ; it had acquired a highly philosophical meaning.

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both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī of *circa* first century A. D.[1] (pl. IX, 7). This, undoubtedly, is the earliest definite anthropomorphic representation of Śiva on seals.

It is difficult to be certain about the exact interpretation and iconographic significance of a bronze seal unearthed at Taxila.[2] Earlier, Marshall had described it as Herakles trampling down a bull-shaped dragon.[3] This description was also upheld by Konow,[4] but, later, Marshall offered another identification: "In centre, Poseidon standing with one leg on the prow of the vessel, the other on a *nāga* swimming in the water. On his outstretched right hand is a bird (? Brahmanic duck)".[5] Konow read the Kharoshṭhī legend on the seal as *Baḍusa Viśpamitrasa* and translated it as 'of the young Brāhmaṇa Viśvāmitra'.[6] Banerjea is inclined to identify it with Śiva, *Viśvāmitra*[7] being one of his appellations. *Baḍu*, he says, may be the same as Baṭuka, one of the forms of Śiva, who is described as Baṭuka Bhairava.[8] It is, however, diffiult to connect positively this depiction with any form of Śiva known to mythology.[9]

Bhita seals

Sealing No. 17 in Marshall's list of Bhita seals[10] bears, in all probability, an anthropomorphic representation of Śiva and is thus of considerable interest and import. It shows a two-armed male figure seated on a *pādapīṭha*. The objects in his hands are difficult to identify. Over his head and shoulders is either foliage(?) or flames. The legend, in northern characters of fourth or fifth century A. D., is *Bhadreśvara* (pl. XVII, 4). According to Marshall, the figure should be identified as Śiva in the *Bhadreśvara* aspect.[11] The

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1. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 35, pl. XXIV, 51 ; *CII*, II(i) p. 102, no. 11 ; Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 26, and *ibid.*, III, pp. 208, 56 ; Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 119-20, pl. XI, 5.
2. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 35, no. 2, pl. XXIV, 50.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
4. *CII*, II (i), p. 102.
5. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 28.
6. *CII*, II (i), p. 102. Marshall had originally read it as *Tiḍusa Vibhumitrasa* (?) (*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 35) but later accepted Konow's reading (*Taxila*, I, p. 177).
7. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 121.
8. *Ibid.*
9. It rather reminds us of Kṛishṇa's exploits as killing bull demons Arishṭāsura and Vatsāsura.
10. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 17, pl. XVIII, 17, now in Indian Museum, Calcutta (no. A 11257-NS 1444).
11. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50.

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Vāmana Purāṇa mentions it as the name of the *Śivaliṅga* at Kalpagrāma.[1] The sealing thus proves that the *liṅga* was the aniconic representation of Śiva who could also be represented anthropomorphically.

A two-armed male figure is represented on a seal of the same list,[2] standing facing, the right hand outstretched, the left on the hip with the folds of drapery falling on both sides. The legend has been tentatively read by Marshall as *Bhagavato Ma[h]e[śvarasya]*[3] (pl. XVII, 5). Although there is nothing specially Śaivite in the representation of the figure on the seal, yet, in case the above reading of the legend be accepted, it should represent Maheśvara, i.e. Śiva.

Nalanda seals

Of the two impressions on a clay lump from Nalanda,[4] one, belonging to a village, shows a two-armed figure seated on a flat stool with a tree on the right and a *triśūla* on the left. Snakes are shown around his head and possibly also around the *triśūla*. The figure may represent Śiva in the anthropomorphic form.[5] The village sealing no. S. 1a, 442 from the same site[6] has a four-armed deity, with a canopy of snake-hoods, holding a trident and other objects in the hands. The legend reads: *Kālapināgrāmasya* in late Gupta characters. The name of the village rings of Śaiva connections.[7]

It is interesting to note that the figure on *Purikāgrāmajanapada* sealing from Nalanda,[8] carrying a rosary and a water-vessel in his hands, is adorned with nine snake-hoods around his head. The rosary and water-vessel are typical attributes of Śiva. Although iconographic texts do not prescribe snake-hoods over the head of Śiva figures,[9] the snake is associated

1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, Bhadreśvara as a *Pitṛitīrtha*, *Matsya P.*, 22.25 ; Bhadreśvara on the bank of Narmada, *Kūrma P.*, 40.4 ; Bhadreśvara in Varanasi, *Liṅga P.*, I.92.136. See Kane, *HDS*, IV, p. 738 under the list of *Tīrthas*.
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 23, pl. XVIII, 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
4. *MASI*, 66, p. 41, nos. S.1, 645 and 811, pl. III, h. The other impression belongs to the Buddhist *saṅgha*.
5. Sastri (*ibid.*, p. 41) leaves the figure unidentified; but see Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 187.
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 43, pl. VI, g ; *DHI*, p. 187, pl. X, 2.
7. As Banerjea writes, "Śiva is Kāla or Mahākāla (the Time Eternal) on the one hand and *Pināki* (wielder of the *Pināka* bow) on the other" (*DHI*, p. 187).
8. *MASI*, 66, p. 45, no. S.1, 374, pl. IV, g ; Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 187. The palaeography of the letters suggests a slightly later date (*c.* 8th century).
9. This feature is prescribed for the images of Balarāma, Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras-Supārśvanātha and Pārśvanātha-and Nāga figures.

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with that deity. The Śaiva cult in and around Nalanda appears to have borrowed a good deal from the Nāga cult which was popular in that region and this explains the presence of snake-hoods over the heads of the figures portrayed. No. S. I., 831[1] shows a four-armed deity, perhaps Śiva, holding a rosary[2] in the upper right hand and a *triśūla* in the upper left. The attributes in the lower hands are not clear. The figure appears to be seated on a bull. The legend read by Sastri as *Se[vattha]like-grāmasya* on another Nalanda seal[3] is perhaps meant for *Śivasthalika-grāmasya* and the four-armed deity thereon represents Śiva. The figure holds a *triśūla* in the upper left hand. The attributes of other hands are not clear.

Rajghat seals

A Rajghat sealing shows a male figure standing on a pedestal, holding a rosary in the right hand and a long-necked flask in the left. There is a serpent device on the seal. The legend reads: *Śrī-Devadevasvāmī* in characters of fourth century A. D. (pl. XVI, 8). The symbols, flask and rosary together with the serpent, occur also on *Yogeśvara* sealings, already described. The figure seems to be the anthropomorphic representation of Śiva—the *Devadevasvāmī* of the legend.[4]

Another sealing from the same site[5] has on one side a *liṅga* on *yonipīṭha* and the legend read by us as *datta—bhava*. On the other side are two figures, one male and the other female, dancing hand in hand. The ends of their *dhotīs* are tied together (pl. XVII, 3). Both the obverse and reverse designs on the seals tempt us to connect the two and offer the suggestion that one side represents Śiva and Pārvatī in anthropomorphic forms while the other their aniconic ones. Even the possibility of the legend being *Durg[ā]bhav[au]*-(Durgā and Śiva)—cannot be excluded. Another interpretation may be offered here in passing. The *liṅga* on the *yonipīṭha* is, beyond doubt, the aniconic representation of Śiva and Pārvatī and the dancing figures on the other side might represent the donee-couple, chanting and dancing in worshipful mood, which aspect is emphasised by the tying of the ends of their *dhotīs*, for, in ritual performances, even today, the husband and the wife have their garments tied by a knot.

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1. *MASI*, 66, p, 42, pl. III, K.
2. Sastri describes it as *chakra* (*ibid.*, p. 42).
3. *MASI*, p. 42, no. S.1, 787, pl. III, J.
4. See Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 188 ; Agrawala, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 408. Dr. Motichandra thinks that the seal seems to be related to Avimukteśvara temple (*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 95).
5. Department of A.I.H.,C. and Archaeology, B.H.U., no. 476.

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Another Rajghat sealing in the Allahabad Museum shows on one side a human figure, standing, facing, with the left hand on the hip and the right outstretched. There is a *triśūla* on the right and a bow on the left. The figure and the symbols are all placed on a pedestal indicating their sacred character. The reverse bears the legend *nandisa* in Gupta characters. Nandī is the name of Śiva himself, his *vāhana* and also of one of his *gaṇas*, but the figure here perhaps represents Śiva himself.

Kauśāmbī seal

A sealing from Kauśāmbī[1] (pl. XVII, 6) is extremely interesting from iconographic points of view. It shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the bull (*āliṅgana-vṛisha-vāhana-mūrti*). Pārvatī is on the left side of Śiva. The latter has a *triśūla* in his hand.[2] This is perhaps the only glyptic example of anthropomorphic representation of Śiva and Pārvatī together.[3] Their being seated on bull suggests of considerable development in Śaiva iconography.[4]

Bairant seal

A sealing from Bairant in the Bharat Kala Bhavan shows a human figure, perhaps that of Śiva standing and holding a *triśūla* in the right hand.

Sankisa seals

A terracotta tablet from Sankisa, noticed by us elsewhere,[5] bears the figure of Śiva standing, facing ; the right hand holds a *triśūla* and the left rests on the hip. The legend may be read as *Bha[drāksha]sya*. The reverse shows a humped bull recumbent to the left and below is a legend of which only the letter *bha* is clear (pl. XVII, 1-2). H. N. Sastri obtained sixty-nine seal-impressions bearing Śaiva devices and the name *Bhadrāksha* in early Gupta characters from this site.[6] This numerical strength of sealings shows that Bhadrāksha was either the name of some ruler or a person of some consequence. It might also refer to Śiva himself. Be as it may, our specimen

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1. Allahabad Museum, no. 230.
2. The reverse seems to show two *śaṅkhas* on a high pedestal. The device may as well be fire-altar with flames.
3. Shri K. Deva kindly points out that a similar sculptural depiction of Śiva and Pārvatī on bull occurs in the Chaunsat Yogini temple at Bheraghat where a label inscription describes it Vareśvara (i.e. Śiva as *Vara* or bridegroom).
4. The sealing does not come from stratified excavations and the possibility of its belonging to a period later than covered by us cannot be ruled out.
5. *JUPHS* (NS), IX (II), pp. 91-94.
6. *Ibid.*, III, (III), p. 108.

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bears unmistakable representation of Śiva and his *vāhana*, on the obverse and reverse, respectively. Sastri reports the find of certain sealings at Sankisa with the name *Ramyāksha* and Śaiva devices.[1] The over-all impression gathered from the find of these seals is that Sankisa, in those days, was a centre of Śaivism.

Śaiva seals found at various sites, viz., Taxila, Sunet, Sankisa, Saheth-Maheth, Bhita, Jhusi, Rajghat, Basarh, Nalanda, etc., clearly testify to the popularity of Śaivism. They also indicate that the deity was represented in all the three possible modes—anthropomorphic, theriomorphic and aniconic—with all typical Śaiva devices depicted on them. We find the *liṅga*, bull, *triśūla*, *paraśu*, combined *triśūla-paraśu*, snake, crescent, rosary, water-vessel, 'hill symbol', bow and arrow, either singly or in groups. Sometimes, the legends have characteristically Śaiva ending in *īśvara* or *rudra* or with the owner's name after the deity or his *vāhana*, Nandī. The representation of Śiva, along with his consort, riding Nandī, shows marked advancement in the development of Śaiva iconography.

Some of these seals provide excellent archaeological corroboration of literary references regarding the existence and importance of certain Śaiva shrines. *Āmrātakeśvara* and *Avimukteśvara* have been mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, while the names of many of the Śaiva shrines occurring on the Rajghat seals and sealings are met with in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. It is interesting to note that some of these shrines still exist.

SECTION II
VAISHṆAVA[2]

Vishṇu held a comparatively subordinate position in the *Ṛigveda*. His importance, however, increased in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature and, by the age of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, he came to attain the status of the supreme deity and the most influential member of the Brahmanical triad. The deity round whom various Vaishṇava cults grew in the historic period was a result of the syncretism of three god-concepts, the Vedic Sun-god Vishṇu, the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the man-god Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa whose worship is attested to even by Pāṇini.[3] Epigraphic evidence, begin-

1. *JUPHS* (*NS*), III, p. 108.
2. Lakshmī and Gajalaksmi sealings, though closely associated with Vaishṇavism, have been treated separately below.
3. Cf. *DHI*, p. 386, The commentary of Kaiyaṭa on the *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini, IV.3.98, *Vāsudevārjunābhyāṁ vun*) says that Vāsudeva contained in the *sūtra* is the name of the worshipful, i.e., God.

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ning from the second-first centuries B.C., shows that the worship of Vāsudeva, alone[1] or in association with his near-relatives,[2] was steadily growing in popularity. In later times, the number of the forms of Vishṇu grew to twenty-four. The theory of incarnation, the origins of which are traced back to the Vedic age, is an important feature of Vaishṇavism.

Replete with various Vaishṇava symbols, motifs and figures, seals and sealings from different sites indicate the popularity of this cult in ancient times. In their description and value-appraisal, it would be more convenient to deal with them according to the type rather than site.

Quite a number of seals and sealings from Basarh[3] and Bhita[4] bear the very common and popular symbols of *chakra* and *śaṅkha*. The fact that many of the names on seal-impressions are after Vishṇu and some of the seals described below contain typically Vaishṇava formulae lead us to conclude that the *chakra* should be taken as *Sudarśana-chakra* rather than the Buddhist *Dharma-chakra* and the *śaṅkha* as a Vaishṇava device rather than a mere auspicious symbol.[5]

An inscribed office-sealing from Dhalia, District Bikaner (pl. XI, 6) and an inscribed private one from Paharpur (pl. XIX, 11) show a *chakra* while

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1. E.g. in the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 88-89).
2. The Ghosundi Ins. mentions Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva together and calls them 'divinities', 'unconquered' and 'lords of all' [*EI*, XXII, pp. 203 (text) and 204 (trans.)]. The Nanaghat cave Ins. offers salutations to both (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 193). The Mora Well Ins. (*EI*, XXIV, p. 194) has the expression *Bhagavatāṁ. Vṛishṇīnāṁ pañcha-vīrāṇāṁ pratimā*, i.e., statues of the divinities, the five heroes of the Vṛishṇi clan. Banerjea has almost conclusively identified these five Vṛishṇi heroes with Saṅkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha. (See *PIHC*, 1944, pp. 82 ff., and 94).
3. *Chakra* occurs on the following in Bloch's list of Basarh seals (*ASIAR*, 1903-04) nos. 38, 40, 43, 49, 51A, 55A, 57A, 64, 65, 102, 106, 114, 115, 133 and ten of the specimens under no. 66. On *ibid.*, nos. 41, 45, 48, 51b, 53, 55b, 59, 68, 91, 112, 128 a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* occur together while on *ibid.*, nos. 72, 73, 74a, 75, 76, 77, 78a-c, 79c, 80, 81a-e, 87a-c, 100b, 105, 107 we find a *kalaśa* and two *śaṅkhas*. In Spooner's list of Basarh seals (*ibid.*, 1913-14) nos. 64a, 232, 249, 449, 668, 716 (together with *śrivatsa*), 722, 770, 791 (together with two other objects) bear the device of *śaṅkha*; nos. 275B, 318A a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas*; nos. 273B and 557A a *chakra*, no. 275A, 342, 630, a *chakra* with a *śaṅkha* or two *śaṅkhas*.
4. In Marshall's list of Bhita seals (*ASIAR*, 1911-12) nos. 5, 6, 8, 41, 91 and 92 bear a *śaṅkha* alone, nos. 21, 43, 88 and 90 a *chakra* alone, while nos. 3, 7, 33, 87, and 89 bear the device of a *śaṅkha* and *chakra*.
5. See Bloch in *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 105; Marshall in *ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 47. It may also be pointed out that *Dharma-chakra* is generally depicted on pedestal and viewed frontally, while the *Sudarśana-chakra* in three-quarter profile.

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an uninscribed terracotta seal matrix from Sahet-Mahet has a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*.[1] Several Rajghat sealings bear variously *chakra* and *gadā*,[2] *chakra* on the standard and Garuḍa,[3] *śrīvasta* on the obverse and a pair of *śaṅkhas* on the reverse.[4] A sealing from the same site in the Allahabad Museum has a *śaṅkha* and the legend *Upadittasya*. A Kumrahar sealing[5] shows the device of a *chakra* at the top and, below it, two *śaṅkhas*, one on either side. The legend on it reads *Śarma* in Gupta characters. The same device also occurs on another sealing from the same site bearing the legend *Aṁśumāna* in similar characters.[6] Two sealings from Rajghat in the Bharat Kala Bhavan show the device of a *chakra* flanked on either side by a *śaṅkha* and bear respectively the legends *(De ?)varātasvāmin(?)* and *Dharmanadha* in Gupta characters.[7] The same device also occurs on four inscribed sealings from Jhusi, all datable to the Gupta period on palaeographic grounds. Two[8] of these bear the legend *Śaṅkaranāgasya* (pl. XIX, 6)[9] while the third[10] *Vishṇugupta*[11] and the fourth[12] *Satyasvāmi*. The legend *Satyasvāmi* refers to God Vishṇu who is also known as *Satyanārāyaṇa*. We may mention here a sealing from Ahichchhatrā housed in the Antiquity section, Archaeological Survey, New Delhi[13] and bearing an identical device with the legend *Mādhavaḥ* (pl. XVII, 8). A clay seal-die unearthed recently at Indrapat (Purana Qila, New Delhi) bears the device of a *śaṅkha* and the legend *Gopasya* in early Gupta characters.[14]

Several sealings from Jhusi, and now preserved in the Allahabad Museum, also bear Vaishṇava symbols and the legend *Padmanābha* or its variants in Gupta characters. The table below is the result of our study of twenty-four such Jhusi sealings in the Allahabad Museum.

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1. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 19, no. 2.
2. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6458.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 18905.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 6461.
5. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 103, no. 6.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 104, no. 9, pl. XXXIII, 12.
7. Banarjea, *DHI*, p. 193.
8. Allahabad Museum, nos. 130 and 426.
9. The one illustrated is no. 130.
10. Allahabad Museum, no. 402.
11. It is tempting to connect this Vishṇugupta with the homonymous Imperial Gupta ruler of the Nalanda seal but the much too general and common pattern of device on our seal deters us from offering any suggestion in that direction.
12. Allahabad Museum, no. 398.
13. No. AC III, 6354.
14. Information from Shri M. C. Joshi.

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Sl. no.	Antiquity no.	Symbol or symbols	Legend	Remarks
1.	414, 299, 300	*chakra* flanked by a *śaṅkha* on either side.	*Padmanābha*	pl. XVIII, 1.
2.	368, 371, 397	*śrīvatsa*	do	—
3.	247, 352, 355, 369, 370	—	do	The sealings are fragmentary.
4.	111, 353, 410, 411	A *gadā* flanked by a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*, all on pedestal.	*Śrī-Padmanābha*	(pl. XVIII, 2)
5.	344	*chakra*	do	fragmentary
6.	252, 405, 406	*chakra*	*Padmanābha-svāmi*	—
7.	335, 336, 337	*chakra*	*Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin*	—
8.	393	highly conventionalized *śrīvatsa*(?) flanked by a *gadā* on either side	*Padmanābha-svāmi*	—
9.	246	lotus leaves and buds	*Padmanābha*	the letter *na* is reversed (pl. XVIII, 3)

It may be noted here that a sealing bearing the device of a *chakra* flanked on either side by a *śaṅkha* and the legend *Padmanābha* was unearthed by Marshall at Bhita.[1] All such sealings, undoubtedly, refer to one and the same deity. *Padmanābha* is a name of Vishṇu in his well-known form represented as reclining on Ādiśesha with Brahmā seated on the lotus emerg-

1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 88, pl. XX.

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ing from the navel. These sealings suggest that there existed a Vaishṇava shrine at Jhusi by the name of *Padmanābha* and its priests offered these tablets to the devotees. The Bhita sealing, referred to above, must have been brought there as *prasāda* by some devotee on a pilgrimage to that shrine. The shrine, in all probability, housed an image of Vishṇu in the above form.

Apart from the sealings bearing the legend *Satyasvāmi* and *Padamanābhasvāmi* (or *svāmin*), referred to above we have a few more seals with either *svāmi* or *svāmin* endings. A sealing found at Rajghat in recent excavations and now in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University,[1] bears the device of a *śaṅkha*, *chakra* and a *gadā* and has the legend *Govindasvāmi* ('Lord Govinda') in Gupta characters. Govinda is a well-known name of Vishṇu. A temple of this name is known to have existed in the Bogra district of Bengal in the first half of the fifth century A.D.[2] Another, similarly acquired and housed in the same institution,[3] has, in the upper field, on a pedestal of double horizontal lines, a *śrīvatsa* symbol flanked by a *śaṅkha* on either side. In the lower field occurs the legend *Vaṭasvāmi* in Gupta characters (pl. XIX, 3). *Vaṭasvāmi* refers to Vishṇu, the Prime Lord, who lies down on a banyan leaf on the primeval waters. A sealing from Sunet in the Indian Museum[4] shows a *gadā*, *chakra* and *śaṅkha* and bears the legend *Jayasvāmi* in Gupta characters. A sealing from Kumrahar shows the device of a *chakra* and the legend *Rāmasvāmi* in similar characters.[5]

A fragmentary sealing from Jhusi, in the Allahabad Museum,[6] shows from left to right a *śrīvatsa*, a *gadā* and a *chakra*. The portion to the left of the *śrīvatsa* is broken and missing. Below the device occurs a neatly written legend which we read :

1. .....*lokaikanāthasya*
2. .....*dyādikarttuḥ*
3. .....*rtasvāmin(o)* (pl. XIX, 8).

The symbols are typically Vaishṇava. The deity is called *Lokaikanātha* ('the sole lord of the universe'), an elaborate form of Lokanātha, a name of Vishṇu.[7] The second line refers to the god as the 'first performer' of some-

1. No. 2.
2. Baigram Copper pl. Ins. of the Gupta yr. 128 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 355-58).
3. No. 634.
4. No. 11 A435—NS9 159.
5. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 104, pl. XXXIVA, no. 7.
6. No. 374.
7. See Chhabra in *PIHC*, 1954, p. 123.

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thing that was mentioned in the part of the sealing which is missing. The third line we restore as (*ā*)*rtasvāmino* ('lord of the distressed') though there may have been a few more letters preceding to it.

The Rajim Copper-plate seal of Tīvaradeva[1] shows a Garuḍa (in therianthropic form) with a serpent, its hood expanded, standing to the front over each of its shoulders. On the proper right and left are a *chakra* and *śaṅkha* respectively. The lower part has a floral device. An Indian Museum sealing[2] from Sunet shows a *śaṅkha* on a pedestal and has the legend *Śrīdevasya* in Gupta characters. One Mathura Museum sealing has a *śrīvatsa* symbol with the legend *Anaṁtasya* in Gupta characters.[3] *Śrīvatsa* occurs on several seals and sealings from Bhita,[4] Basarh[5], Kauśāmbī (pl. XXXII, 7), Rajghat (pl. XXXII, 8) and other sites.

A large number of sealings from Rajghat[6] and one from Ayodhya[7] bear the device of a pair of feet (*pādukās*) and the legend *Pushyasaraḥ* (pl. XVIII, 5). Since the impressions on these sealings are identical, it appears that the Rajghat and Ayodhya sealings came from one and the same place, where, perhaps, existed a Vaishṇava shrine, Pushyasara by name, and the priests of which distributed these sealings to Vaishṇava devotees. The find of these tablets in large numbers at Rajghat suggests that the shrine existed at Varanasi itself. A recently acquired Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing bears *pādukās* and the legend *Haridatta*. Obviously, Haridatta chose *Haripāda* as a device for his seal. *Pādukās* also occur as device on two Bhita[8] and a large number of Basarh sealings.[9]

Though reverential worship of the feet of a deity is common in several

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1. Fleet, *CII*, III, no. 81, pp. 291 ff. and pl. XLV.
2. No. A12862—NS4677.
3. No. 3064. We owe this information to Prof. K.D. Bajpai.
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 50 ff., nos. 22, 36, 39, 40, 85, 86. The device on no. 22 has been described by Marshall as 'resembling a trident' and on the rest as an 'uncertain symbol' (*ibid.*).
5. Nos. 42, 44, 108, 135 of Bloch's list of Basarh seals (*ibid.*, 1903-04). Bloch has described the device as an 'ornamental *triśūla*'. Nos. 166, 219, 231, 556 of Spooner's list of Basarh seals (*ibid.*, 1913-14). Spooner describes the device as a 'shield' symbol.
6. E.g. Bharat Kala Bhavan, nos. 63, 65, 6117 ; Allahabad Museum, nos. 63, 167, 169, etc.
7. Allahabad Museum, no. 281.
8. Nos. 96 and 97 of Marshall's list of Bhita seals (*ASIAR*, 1911-12).
9. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112 (nos. 46, 50b, 51c, 52), p. 113 (nos. 58, 60, 62, 63, pl. XLI, 27), p. 114 (nos. 66a, pl. XLI, 30, 66b, 66c, pl. XLI, 31, 67), 116 (nos. 88, 90, 92a, 92b), p. 117 (no. 94b), p. 118 (nos. 113, 117, 120), p. 119 (no. 134), p. 120 (two of the

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religions,[1] the cumulative evidence of Bhita and Basarh seals shows the device of *pādukās*, like a few other ones, should be interpreted in Brahmanical context and not in the Buddhist or Jaina,[2] and it is Vishṇu whose feet are specially worshipped amongst the Brahmanical gods. The *Ṛigveda*[3] associates Vishṇu with the feat of traversing the whole universe in three strides, and the origins of the *Vāmanāvatāra* of Vishṇu may be traced to this. Perhaps the idea of the worship of Vishṇu's feet originated from this legend, but the wide currency this practice gained subsequently, seems to be the result of the impact of the worship of *Buddhapāda* by the Buddhists.

A Basarh sealing[4] shows a *śrīvatsa*[5] symbol in the centre. To the right occur a staff 'consisting of seven dots' and, in all probability, standing for the *gadā*,[6] a *śaṅkha* and the solar disc. To the left are the moon and the *chakra*. Bloch read the legend as :

1. *Śrī-Vishṇupādasvāmi-Nā-*
2. *rāya(ṇa)*

'Nārāyaṇa, the lord of Vishṇupāda' (pl. XVIII, 4). The sealing came from the authorities of a temple of Vishṇupāda, perhaps the famous shrine at Gaya,[7] as the close proximity of Basarh to this holy place would suggest.

Vaishṇava mottos

We describe below certain interesting seals and sealings from different sites which can be labelled motto seals belonging to the Vaishṇava pantheon.

1. *Hari-smaraṇa*

'Remembering Hari'.

The legend occurs on a sealings from Varanasi.[8] This motto is quite popular even to-day. Such sealings served as constant reminders to their devotees. In certain regions, however, this formula is now-a-days more

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sixty-six specimens referred to under no. 140) ; Spooner, *ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 137 (no. 272b), p. 138 (no. 274b), p. 140 (no. 321b), p. 144 (no. 489), p. 14 (no. 535).

1. Coomaraswamy remarks that the doctrine of *vestigia pedis* is common to Greek, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist teachings and is the basis of the iconography of foot-prints (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 35).
2. See *supra*, p. 2 fn.
3. *Ṛigveda*, 1.22.17, *idaṁ Vishṇurvichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam.*
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 110-11, no. 31, pl. XL, 3.
5. Described as 'ornamental *triśūla*' by Bloch (*ibid.*, p. 110).
6. Banerji, *AIG*, p. 116 ; Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 189-90.
7. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104.
8. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 72, fn. 2 ; *ibid.*, XXIV, p. 182.

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particularly uttered while announcing or after hearing some tragic news—especially that of death.[1]

2-3 *Namaḥ and Namastasmai*

'Obeisance' and 'Obeisance to Him'.

Two sealings from Basarh bear identical device of wheel (*chakra*) and the legend *namaḥ*[2] while nine others[3] from the same site contain the same device and the legend *namastasmai* (pl. XIX, 1).[4] It is difficult to ascertain the deity adored from the legends alone, but the occurrence of Vaishṇava symbols, *chakra* and *śaṅkha*, either singly or together,[5] on these seals, suggests that Vishṇu or one of his manifestations was intended.

If the omission of the name of the deity was deliberate, a conjecture may be hazarded regarding the caste of the issuers. The Śūdras were allowed by certain authorities[6] to perform *pākayajñas* (simple domestic rites) with the *namaḥ* or *svāhā mantras*. It may also be noted that the clay lumps which bear these legends also bear the seal-impressions containing the names of certain *kulikas* and the legend *Śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama*.[7] The *kulikas* (artisans) may be assigned to the lower order.[8] The presence of Vaishṇava symbols does not create any problem as the *bhakti* form (*Bhāgavata*) of that religion assures *moksha* to all such peoples who have deep devotion for the god.

4. *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*

'Victorious is the Lord'.

An agate seal stamp found on a hill close to Parsenoi near Nagpur bears the legend *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*.[9] The same legend is also met with on nos, 33, 34, 35 and 36 in Bloch's list of Basarh seals bearing Vaishṇava

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1. Cf. also the popular vernacular form *Hari sumirana*. Such tablets were destributed by either temple priests or *Saṁnyāsis*. The latter, detached as they were from the world, should avoid even the usual mode of blessing. We owe this latter suggestion to Shri C. Sivaramamurti.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111, no. 38.
3. *Ibid.*, under nos. 40-41, pl. XLII, 139-40.
4. The same as *ibid.*, no. 40.
5. The two sealings bearing *namaḥ* show a *chakra*, which is also the case with seven of the nine sealings bearing the legend *namastasmai*; the remaining two of the latter bear a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* each.
6. E. g. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, X. 64, *vide* Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 122; *Mbh.*, *Śāntiparva*, 60.36, *vide* Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 268.
7. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111, nos. 38, 40, and 41.
8. *Amarakośa* includes them in the *Śūdra varga*.
9. *JNSI*, III, p. 100.

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symbols.[1] No. 33, of which four specimens are known, shows a turban, perhaps the *kirīṭa* of Vishṇu ; no. 34 has a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas*, no. 35 (two specimens) a *śrīvatsa*[2] and two *śaṅkhas* and no. 36 (three specimens) a *chakra*.

Two specimens of no. 33 are combined with the seals of the *kulikas* and all three of no. 36 with *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* seal-impression. The legend *jitaṁ bhagavatā* also occurs on a sealing unearthed at Indrapat, the ancient mound on which stands the Purana Qila at Delhi.[3] It is interesting to note that this very legend also occurs on certain stone seals found in Oceo in Southern Cambodia.[4] All these seals are datable to the Gupta period. The formula is Vaishṇavite[5] and occurs in the records of the Guptas and their contemporaries.[6] The Vaishṇava symbols—*chakra*, *śaṅkha* and *śrīvatsa*—that occur on the Basarh seals, either singly or in groups, provide, in association with this legend, a very appropriate combination to the Vaishṇavite motto.

5. (1) *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā Vā*(2)*sudevena*
'Victorious is the Lord Vāsudeva'.

The legend in two lines in the script of the Gupta period occurs on a clay seal in the collection of Shri Ram Chandra Tandon at Allahabad. It bears a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra* in the upper field.[7] This may be compared with such expressions as *jitaṁ bhagavatā gata ghana gaganābhena Padmanābhena* occurring in epigraphs[8] and *jitaṁ bhagavatā Padmanābhena* on a copper coin(?) in the collection of Shri Paradeshi of the Forest Department, Sanchi,[9] and the seal legend given under no. 6 below.

6. (1) *Śrī Jitaṁ bhaga* (2) *vatā svāmi-Nā* (3) *rāyaṇena*
'Victorious is the God, Lord Nārāyaṇa'.

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1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111, pl. XLII, 50.
2. The device *śrīvatsa* has been described by Bloch as 'ornamental *triśūla*'. No. 35 has the legend *jitaṁ bhagavataḥ* which is corrupt (*ibid.*).
3. Information from Shri M. C. Joshi.
4. See Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 18c.
5. *Bhagavata*, 'venerated', was used as an epithet of gods, objects of worship, and also as a title of priests. It, however, more particularly belongs to God Vishṇu. The Vaishṇava Imperial Guptas called themselves *paramabhāgavatas* (See *CII*, III, p. 28, fn.). For a different view, see Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, pp. 292-95.
6. E. g. Gadhwa Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*CII*, III, p. 41) ; The Poona (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 436) and Rithpur (*ibid.*, p. 439) plates of the Vākāṭaka dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā ; Narasaropet Cop. Ins. of Siṁhavarman (*ibid.*, p. 469).
7. We have also noticed this in *JNSI*, XXIX, p. 27.
8. Penukonda Copper Plate Inscription of Mādhava (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 480) ; cf. also Sasankot plates, *EI*, XXIV, p. 238.
9. Information from Prof. K. D. Bajpai. We have seen this coin through his courtesy.

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The three-lined legend in the characters of the Gupta period occurs on a recently published sealing from Sunet.[1] It may be recounted that a large number of sealings bearing the legend *Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇābhyāṁ* and noticed below[2] have been found at the same site. Vishṇu was obviously worshipped at this place by the name of Nārāyaṇa.

7. (1) [*Jitaṁ Bha*]*gavatonantasya Naṁde*(2)[*śva*]*rī varasvāmina*[*ḥ*]

'Victorious is Lord Ananta, the noble husband of Naṁdeśvarī'.

The Basarh sealing[3] bearing the above legend shows the *śrīvatsa* symbol flanked by two *śaṅkhas*. The reading of the legend is tentative. *Ananta* (literally 'infinite') is an epithet of Vishṇu, Śiva, and a few other divinities as well. *Ananta* and *Naṁdeśvarī*, when viewed in the context of *śaṅkhas* and *śrīvatsa* and the Vaishṇava formula *jitaṁ Bhagavatā* seem to stand for Vishṇu and his consort respectively[4] rather than for Śiva and Durgā, as surmised by Bloch.[5]

8. (1) *Jayatyananto bhagavān*(2)*Sāmbaḥ*

'Victorious is the Lord Ananta with Ambā'.

This two-lined legend occurs on four sealings from Basarh[6] bearing the device of a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas*. Bloch took Ananta and Ambā as standing for Śiva and Durgā,[7] but this rendering is not in keeping with the Vaishṇava device—the *śaṅkha* and *chakra*.[8] Banerjea suggested that Ambā, literally 'mother', is, in the context, more likely to refer to Lakshmī, consort of Vishṇu, who himself is referred to as Ananta.[9]

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1. Sharma, in *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 221-22 and pl. XIII, no. 4. The sealing has an elevated triangle as device.
2. *Infra*, under 'Rivalry and Rapproachement'.
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111, no. 37.
4. See Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 191. Nanda occurs as a name of Vishṇu in the lexicons and so Naṁdeśvarī, may, by derivation, be the name of his consort (*ibid.*).
5. Bloch translated the legend as "Victorious is the Lord Ananta (Śiva), the chosen husband of Nandeśvarī (Durgā)" (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111). Dr. (Mrs) Suvira Jaiswal is also inclined to take Ambā and Nandeśvarī as standing for Durgā. As regards the identity of her husband, she leaves the question open and suggests that the deity could either be Nārāyaṇa (since the goddess is sometimes, though rarely, designated by the name Nārāyaṇī as his wife) or Śiva (cf. *Origin and Development of Vaishṇavism*, pp. 188-89).
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 111.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Cf. also the interpretation of the legend discussed above under heading 7.
9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 191.

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However, it is not unlikely that *Sāmba* may refer to the son of Kṛishṇa from Jāmbavatī. There is evidence to show that Sāmba was raised to godhood and worshipped by the Vaishṇavas in the early phase of Bhāgavatism.[1]

9. [*Namo Bhagava*]*te Vāsude*[*vāya*]

'Salutations to Lord Vāsudeva'.

A Gupta clay sealing from Bhita[2] has the above legend and a wheel symbol. Banerjea reports that some seals from Rajghat also bear the same formula.[3] The legend is the well-known Bhāgavata motto and, along with the honorific *om*, forms the *dvādaśākshara mantra* uttered and meditated upon by ardent Vaishṇava devotees. Such sealings were distributed by the authorities of a Vaishṇava shrine[4] and used by the pious devotees as amulets tied to their bodies ; for, it is said that, by keeping the *dvādaśākshara mantra* on the body, a Vaishṇava would attain the status of Vishṇu.[5] The formula also occurs at the beginning of some epigraphs of the Gupta[6] and post-Gupta periods.[7]

We may also refer to a sealing from Paunar (District Wardha)[8] containing the legend *nama Purushottama*[9] (Salutations to Purushottama) in

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1. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (58.40) and the *Vishṇudharmottara* (III, 85. 77-78) lay down rules for making the image of Sāmba. He was, in all probability, one of the five Vṛishṇi heroes referred to in the Mora Well Inscription (*PIHC*, 1944, pp. 82 ff.)
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 21, pl. XVIII.
3. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, p. 20.
4. Cf. also Marshall, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50. He thinks that a temple at Bhita was dedicated to the God 'Vāsudeva'. But by the Gupta period this could be used as a general Vaishṇava motto.
5. *Dvādaśāksharamantraistu niyuktāṇi kalevare,*
   āyudhāni cha viprasya matsamaḥ sa cha Vaishṇavaḥ.
   Quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, p. 744.
6. See e. g. Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of *Mahārāja Saṁkshobha* (Fleet, *CII*, III, no. 25, p. 114, line 1). Cf. also the form *Om namo Bhagavate Nārāyaṇāya* in the Betul copper-plates of this ruler (*EI*, VIII, p. 284).
7. See e. g. Siyadoni Stone Inscription of the time of Devapāla (*EI*, I, pp. 162-69 at p. 173) ; Benares Copper-plate Grant of Govindachandra, V. S. 1105 (*EI*, II, 358-61, p. 259). It also occurs engraved in *c.* seventh century A. D. characters on a terra-cotta plaque bearing the standing figure of Vishṇu from Rajasan, District Dacca (*vide* Goswami, *A study of Vaishṇavism*, p. 39).
8. Shastri, *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 215-18. Paunar is very possibly identical with Pravarapura whereto was shifted the Vākāṭaka capital from Nandivardhana by Pravarasena II (*ibid.*, pp. 217-18).
9. Obviously for Sanskrit *namaḥ Purushottamāya*. Shastri says that a letter, perhaps *ya*, followed *ma*.

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three lines in *circa* second century A. D. characters. Purushottama is a name of Vishṇu and the sealing seems to be a votive offering to a Vaishṇava shrine, likely enough, at Paunar itself.[1]

10. *Paṇyalābha* (?)

A large number of clay sealings from Jhusi in the Allahabad and Lucknow Museums bear the device of a *chakra* or a *śrīvatsa* (pl. XXIX, 2) or a *śaṅkha* (pl. XXIX, 3) and the legend read as *Pannalābha* and *Paṇṇalābha* by Dr. Chhabra[2] and Dr. Kala[3] respectively. The former takes the legend as standing for the Sanskrit *Paṇyalābha* meaning 'acquisition of money'. The legend might as well have been intended for *puṇyalābha*, 'acquisition of merit'. We even suggest the possibility of the legend being a seal engraver's mistake for *Padmanābha*, a legend that occurs on numerous other seals from the same site.[4]

Some four hundred such sealings were found hoarded at one place[5] either for distribution by the Vaishṇava priest or priests of the place to visiting devotees or were offerings from the latter. Evidently Jhusi was a very sacred spot for the Vaishṇavas as is apparent from the evidence of several other seals discussed above.

Some likely representations of the avatāras of Vishṇu

According to the concept of *avatāra*, Vishṇu incarnated himself into human, animal or human-cum-animal forms[6] from time to time with the avowed intention of protecting the good and punishing the wicked.[7] The idea—more particularly associated with Bhāgavata-Vaishṇavism—seems

1. *Ibid.*, p. 217. That Paunar was a Vaishṇava centre is also proved by a number of sculptured panels narrating the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*ibid.*). The evidence of this sealing is of considerable interest and import as it tends to show the prevalence of Vaishṇavism in the regions of Vidarbha prior to the matrimonial relation between the Vākāṭakas and the *Paramabhāgavata* Guptas.
2. *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, p. 12.
3. Kala, *Jr. Ind. Mus.*, XIV-XVI, p. 3.
4. See *supra*, p. 159.
5. *Jr. Ind. Mus.*, XIV-XVI, p. 3.
6. It is interesting that some of these *avatāras* may be interpreted in terms of evolution of life—from Matsya (fish)—residing in water through Kūrma (tortoise—residing in water and earth), Varāha (boar—on earth), Nṛisiṁha (man-lion—an intermediary stage from animal to man) to Rāma and Kṛishṇa (human form). Though the number of *avatāras* is variously enumerated, they came to be referred to as ten in number (*daśāvatāra*) in course of time. For various enumerations of *avatāras* in different texts see *DHI*, pp. 390 ff.
7. See *Gītā*, IV, 7-8.

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to have had its origin in the legends of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* where the human-dwarf form of Vishṇu expanding himself into the limitless is, no doubt, referred to; but, as shown below, forms like the Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha, known to Bhāgavatism as *avatāras* of Vishṇu, are actually stated to have been the forms adopted by Prajāpati. Obviously, the Vaishṇavas borrowed these legends and adapted them to suit their contexts in the gradual evolution of Bhāgavata-Vaishṇavism. Seals and sealings (and these are few in number) on which the devices may represent Vishṇu in his incarnatory form, may now be described.

Matsya

A terracotta seal-die from Rajghat[1] shows a standard surmounted by a fish within a railing. The legend, at right angles to the device, reads *Upachaḍasa* in characters of *circa* first century A. D. One of the incarnations of Vishṇu was Fish (*Matsya*) and both the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* as well as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refer to the fish-form of Prajāpati.[2] This idea seems to have been borrowed by the Vaishṇavas and attributed to Vishṇu. But here the fish is represented as surmounting a standard which is suggestive of the fact that it represents a fish standard (*mīnaketu*) rather than the *Matsyāvatāra*.[3] But the fish occurring as the only device on a Bhita sealing[4] seems to be the representation of this *avatāra*.

Kūrma

The tortoise-device also occurs on one or two of the Bhita seals.[5] Tortoise is also the *vāhana* of the river Yamuna, but, since it occurs alone, it may also be interpreted differently. Not unlikely, it represents the *Kūrmāvatāra* of Vishṇu. The concept itself, of this *avatāra* seems to have been inspired by a legend in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, according to which Prajāpati, having assumed the form of a tortoise, created living beings.[6]

Varāha

Several sealings from Rajghat bear the figure of a boar and the legend

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1. Allahabad Museum, no. 52.
2. Banerjea, *DHI*, (389).
3. It is tempting to connect this symbol with the Matsyas who, in ancient times, had their capital at Bairat, though it is a far cry from the region of Matsyas to Varanasi.
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 84.
5. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 2, pl. XVII. The representation on no. 72 (*ibid.*, p. 57) is doubtful.
6. VII, 5.1.5., *Sā yatkūrmo nāma. Etadvai rūpaṁ kṛitvā Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛijata.*

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Rasikasya in Gupta characters (pl. XIX, 4).[1] The animal is also found to occur on some Basarh sealings. We come across boar-figures on number 18 in Bloch's list[2] (pl. XIX, 5) and numbers 54,[3] 325[4] and 341[5] in Spooner's list of Basarh seals. Very probably, these are representations of the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu. A still more interesting and definite representation occurs on a Rajghat sealing in the Allahabad Museum,[6] showing Varāha lifting the Earth Goddess (pl. XIX, 7). The Varāha is shown as a human being but with the head of a boar (Nṛi-varāha). Thus we find Varāha in both forms—theriomorphic and therianthropic.

The original concept of the Varāha incarnation, perhaps, lies in the story of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* where a boar, Emusha is said to have raised the Earth from the bottom of the ocean, and was her lord, Prajāpati.[7] The representation of the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu, though evolved during the Kushāṇa period,[8] became very popular in the sculptural art of the Gupta period, wherein both the theriomorphic and therianthropic types occur frequently. The *paramabhāgavata* Imperial Gupta kings favoured this incarnation perhaps because it could also symbolise their saving the country from foreign depredations of the Śakas and the Hūṇas. Numismatic parallels are also to be met with in the *Ādivarāha* coins of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings.[9]

Nṛisiṁha

No. 191 in Spooner's list of Basarh seals[10] is extremely important from iconographic points of view. It shows the figure of Nṛisiṁha, facing, seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. His right hand is raised while the left rests on the hip. The legend is faint and defies reading (pl. XVIII, 7). This sealing has been positively ascribed to the Gupta period by Spooner according to

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1. E. g. Allahabad Museum, nos. 1, 35, 167 and 172 etc.; Lucknow Museum, nos. 40, 158; Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6235.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 106-109, no. 18, pl. XLI, 15.
3. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 126, 140, 141, pl. XLVI, 54.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41, pl. XLVII, no. 325.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 141, pl. XLVIII, 341.
6. Allahabad Museum, no. 110.
7. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 1.2.11, *iyatyagra' āsīditiyatīha vā' iyamagre Pṛithivyā sa prādeśamātrī tāmemūsha iti varāha ujjaghāna so'syaḥ patiḥ Prajāpatiḥ*
8. See e. g. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 101.
9. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 214-19. The resemblence is very close and the sealing may be an impression from the *ādivarāha* coin-die. In that case it would be outside the scope of the present work.
10. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 133, pl. XLVI.

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whom it "provides us with our oldest datable representation of the deity Nṛisiṁha in India".[1] However, independent colossal images of Nṛisiṁha of this period have since then been discovered in the Madhya Pradesh and are preserved in the Museum at Gwalior as well as in the collection of the University of Sagar.[2] According to Banerjea, it definitely shows that by the time of its manufacture the *Nṛisiṁhāvatāra* had acquired the form of the regular cult-picture usually placed in the main sanctum of a temple; it is distinct from the elaborate reliefs illustrative of the mythology underlying this incarnation, which were usually prominently placed in the subsidiary shrines in a Vaishṇava temple.[3]

The story of *Nṛisiṁhāvatāra* is too well-known to be described here. The circumstances and the way in which Vishṇu in the form of Nṛisiṁha killed Hiraṇyakaśipu is parallel to the Vedic story of Namuchi's destruction by Indra.[4]

Other probable incarnations

The duck figure on a Bhita sealing[5] has been taken to be a likely representation of Vishṇu's *avatāra*.[6] A Basarh sealing representing a man fighting a bull[7] and a Kushāṇa sealing showing a human figure struggling with a rampant horse[8] faintly echo the exploits of Kṛishṇa's subjugation of the bull demons Vatsāsura and Arishṭāsura and the horse demon, Keśī.

Anthropomorphic representations of Vishṇu

The anthropomorphic representations of Vishṇu on seals are extremely rare. No. 22 of Marshall's list of Bhita seals[9] represents him with the right hand outstretched above a *śrīvatsa*[10] symbol and the left one on the hip. There is a *śaṅkha* near the left foot. The symbols and the figure have been shown on a pedestal; this indicates their sacred character.

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 133.
2. Bajpai, *Sagar through the Ages*, pl. V.
3. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 192.
4. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 7.3.3-4.
5. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 53.
6. Jaiswal, S., *Origin and Development of Vaishṇavism*, p. 181.
7. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 106, pl. XLI, no. 17.
8. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art of the Kushāṇas*, pp. 102-03, text fig. 8. He identifies the figure as Herakles killing a horse of Diomedes (*ibid.*).
9. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50.
10. Marshall was uncertain about the identification of this symbol and describes it as 'resembling trident' (*ibid.*). But see Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 192. Marshall, however, had no doubts regarding the figure being that of Vishṇu.

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No less interesting is a recently acquired uninscribed sealing in the Allahabad Museum. It shows Vishṇu riding his *vāhana*, Garuḍa. The fragmentary Nalanda sealing of a king of a Hūṇa dynasty illustrated by Sastri,[1] in all probability, represented Vishṇu riding Garuḍa. The *gadā* is clearly shown in one of the hands that is preserved.[2]

Personification of chakra

The following seal is important for giving us the only glyptic representation of the personification of *chakra*. The Mallasarul copper-plate seal shows a two-armed human figure against an elaborate wheel.[3] N. G. Majumdar interpreted the device as Buddhist—the *chakra* standing for the Buddhist *Dharmachakra*.[4] According to Dr. Chhabra,[5] however, the record is Brahmanical, as the grant was made to some Brāhmaṇas. The inscription on the plate begins with the praise of Lokanātha.[6] Lokanātha is one of the thousand names of Vishṇu[7] and, though it may refer to Brahmā, Śiva or the Buddha also in different contexts, here it stands for Vishṇu. The *chakra* is *Śudarśanachakra* while the figure is *Chakrapurusha*, i. e., personified *Sudarśanachakra*.[8] The *Chakrapurusha* has been highly glorified in the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā* which even identifies it with Vishṇu himself.[9] An excellent representation of *Chakrapurusha* is to be found on the *Chakravikrama* type of gold coins of Chandragupta II.[10] Also known are the sculptural representations of *Chakrapurusha* of the Gupta and subsequent periods.

SECTION III

GODDESSES

The worship of Mother goddess may be traced back to remote antiquity.[11]

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1. *MASI*, 66, pl. IX, C.
2. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 70.
3. *EI*, XXIII, p. 155, pl. facing p. 161.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
5. Chhabra, *PIHC*, 1954, p. 123.
6. Dr. Chhabra even suggests that the legend being conjectural, the reading *Trilokanātha* may also be suggested which would also stand for Vishṇu (*ibid.*, p. 124).
7. *Lokabandhurlokanātho Mādhavo Bhaktavatsalaḥ* (*Vishṇusahasranāma*, 93 ; cf. Chhabra, *ibid.*, p. 123).
8. Chhabra, *ibid.*, p. 123.
9. *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*, 41.37; see also Chhabra, *PIHC*, 1954, p. 123.
10. See Altekar, *CGE*, pl. IX, nos. 8, 9 ; see also *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 180-82 ; *ibid.*, XVI, p. 97.
11. The Aurignacian Venus figures, with female parts exaggerated, have been taken as representations of the Mother Goddess (Graziosi, *Palaeolithic Art*, p. 46 ff., pls. 3-9).

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In India it goes back to the period of the Bronze Age Communities of Baluchistan. Here her benevolent[1] as well as malevolent[2] forms are met with. Her anthropomorphic[3] and perhaps also aniconic[4] representations were popular in the days of the Harappan civilization. The predominant deities of the patriarchal Āryans were male but some importance was also given to goddesses like Aditi, Ushas, Vāk, Pṛithvī etc. There are several stone and terracotta rings of the Mauryan period from various sites like Murtaziganj (Pāṭaliputra), Taxila, Rajghat and Rupar, with or without the figure of the goddess, which, in all probability, served the purpose of the *chakras* and *yantras* of later times.[5] Subsequently, we come across further development of the Śākta cult in the *Mahābhārata* but its full development is to be met with in the Purāṇas. Quite often the goddesses appear as consorts or *Śaktis* of gods, and may or may not be associated with the symbols and *vāhanas* of their consorts.

Durgā and her different forms

Several sealings from Nalanda portray the goddess Durgā. No. S. I, 668[6] shows her two-armed, sitting, and flanked by a tree on either side. Her right hand is in *varada-mudrā* while the left holds a *triśūla*. On a *grāma-janapada* sealing,[7] and she is shown eight-armed, seated on a lion.[8] Among her attributes may be recognised a shield,[9] a bow and a *triśūla*. Another[10] shows a female figure riding an alligator.[11] Significantly, this animal also occurs on ringstones of the Maurya period referred to above. The goddess Durgā, whose another form is Kālī, riding an alligator, is a befitting device for this seal of *Kālīgrāma-janapada*.[12] Sealing no. S. I, 800[13] shows Durgā seated on a lion holding a trident in her left hand with a tree on her either side.

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1. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 107-09, fig. 9 on p. 108.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-28, fig. 16 on p. 127.
3. Marshall, *MIC*, pp. 49 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-63.
5. *DHI*, pp. 168-72 and 489.
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 42, pl. IV, a.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 46, no. S. 9, R. 19, pl. IV, j.
8. The association of lion with goddesses is also met with in the cultures of Western Asia.
9. Sastri recognises it as a *chakra* (*ibid.*, p. 46).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 47, no. S. 9, R. 144, pl. V, a.
11. Sastri calls it *makara*, but see Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 186.
12. *MASI*, 66, p. 47, no. S. 9, R. 55. It has not been illustrated by Sastri and it is difficult to ascertain the date of the seal.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 53, pl. VI, d.

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Sealing no. S. 9, R, 1A[1] shows an eight-armed *Siṁhavāhinī* Durgā, with a sword, lotus, bell, snake, noose, etc., in her different hands. One hand is in *varada* and another in *abhaya-mudrā*. Still another[2] seal bearing the same number shows the same deity riding a lion, but the number of her arms is four. Similarly, on S. 9, 305, she is four-armed and *siṁhavāhinī*. The legend, *Śrīmaddeveśvarī*, is significant.[3]

Another sealing of the same number[4] shows a skeleton goddess seated on a dead body holding in her four hands a skull-cup, a sword, a scythe and a *triśūla* from the lower right onwards. The skeletal form, the haggard look and the sitting posture are all characteristic of Chāmuṇḍā, one of the terrific forms of Durgā.[5]

The sealings clearly show that Śakti worship was quite popular in the areas around Nalanda and the local folk adopted her representation as a device on their seals. This is rather contrary to the general belief that people in that area were followers of Buddhism alone.

The female figure standing by the side of a bull with crescent under its neck and in association with a post (?), bow and arrow and a pile of balls representing hill on the sealings of Śivamagha[6] from Bhita possibly represents Durgā, like the lady in association with similar devices on a seal of Bhīmasena[7] from the same site.

A sealing from Rajghat in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[8] shows a two-armed goddess standing facing, on a pedestal, holding a rosary in the left hand and a four-pronged object in the right. Her hair is frizzled ; there is a snake on her right. The legend, in Gupta characters, reads *Durggaḥ*, obviously for Durgā (pl. XX, 1). Another Rajghat sealing in the Lucknow Museum[9] has the right hand hanging down and the left raised. The legend reads *Durga* (i. e. Durgā). The same legend also occurs on several sealings from Rajghat without the female figure.

A recently unearthed Rajghat sealing, now in the Department of Ancient

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 48.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 48, pl. V, d.
5. See also *DHI*, p. 187, on which the Identification of this goddess has been based. Sastri, however, identifies her with Mahākālī (*MASI*, 66, p. 37).
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, nos. 26 and 28, pl. XVIII.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 51, no. 27.
8. No. 6089.
9. No. 49. 193.

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Indian History, Culture and Archaeology B. H. U. (pl. XXI, 2),[1] shows on the obverse a four-armed Mahishāsuramardinī holding a *śūla* in her lower right hand, the tail of the Mahisha in the lower left, a dagger in the upper right and a shield-like object (*chakra*?) in the upper left. The reverse has three impressions : (i) the figure of Brahmā, (ii) a woman and a horse (*aśvamedha* ritual scene) and (iii) the legend *Chhandoga* in Gupta characters.[2] Identical obverse and reverse impressions occur on two more sealings[3] in the same collection. Still another[4] has the same obverse device but the reverse has two different impressions: (i) the legend *Durgā* and (ii) the vase-and-foliage motif. According to the Purāṇas, the gods pooled their energies which took the form of the goddess[5] in order to kill the demon Mahisha who had threatened them. The gods also gave her their weapons and emblems for the purpose. The depiction of the goddess in these sealings tallies with her description in the Purāṇas.[6] The concept of Mahishāsuramardinī may suggest the replacement of buffalo totem worship by a form of goddess worship.[7] Sculptural representations of this form of the goddess are met with from the Kushāṇa period[8] onwards. Textual descriptions and iconographic representations show that the number of her hands was never fixed and these range from two to thirty-two or even more.

A cylindrical terracotta sealing in the collection of Shri Ram Chandra Tandon, Allahabad, has on its top face an impression from a circular die, showing a raised chain-border with a female figure in frontal posture in incuse. The breasts and hips of the figure are prominently exaggerated (pl. XXI, 5). Shri J. K. Agarwal has noticed a copper seal from Nalanda depicting a female figure with similar physical features.[9] This is a characteristic feature of the Maurya and Śuṅga terracotta female figures and is also met with on

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1. No. 424.
2. A similar sealing has been recently published by Shri K. B. Iyer in the *Artibus Asiae*, XXX (2-3), pp. 179-84.
3. Nos. 407 and 451.
4. No. 442.
5. See the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 79. 18,
   tataḥ samasta-devānāṁ tejorāśi Samudbhavām,
   tāṁ vilokya mudāṁ prāpuramarā Mahishārditāḥ.
6. *Ibid.*, 80. 38,
   evamuktvā samutpatya sārūḍhā taṁ mahāsuram,
   pādenākramya kaṇṭhe cha śūlenainamatāḍayat.
7. Cf. also Rao, *EHI*, I (II), p. 354.
8. For examples of Kushāṇa period from Mathura, see *JUPHS*, XXIV-XXV, p. 125.
9. *JUPHS*, VII, pp. 79-80.

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the gold figure of the goddess unearthed from the Piprahwa *stūpa* and the so-called Vedic burial mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh[1] as well as on the female figures depicted on certain Maurya and Śuṅga ringstones.[2] All these figures represent one and the same deity—the Mother Goddess, whose cult dominated all ancient civilizations—Mesopotamian, Egyptian as well as Indian.

We are inclined to offer a suggestion regarding the identification of the motif on two of the most artistic sealings from Sunet[3] (pl. XXX, 4, 8).[4] The tree may represent Śiva and the exquisite female, figure Pārvatī, his consort. Interestingly enough, Pārvatī has been likened to *Śālabhañjikā* and Śiva to pillar—eternal in ancient Indian epigraphs[5] and literature.[6] But Śiva is also referred to as *Sthāṇu* which also means, besides others, a tree trunk, and we may, in passing, note that Sunet has yielded, amongst many Śaiva and other sealings, a sealing with the legend *Sthāṇusya* (i. e., *Sthāṇoḥ*).[7] Blossoming forth of a tree (in poetic convention) is quite often associated with female touch. The analogy may be carried further in the case of Śiva-Sthāṇu who becomes happy and radiant with the merest touch of Pārvatī.[8] Our

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1. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pl. XXX, 105.
2. Banerjea, *DHI*, pl. XII.
3. For a discussion, see also our article in *Roopa Lekha*, XXXVII, pp. 30-32. For art-aspect of the sealing, see chapter VII.
4. No. A11306-NS 9143 in the Indian Museum and no. S 2404 in the Lucknow Museum respectively.
5. *EI*, XXI, p. 165,
   Gaṅgā yatra patākā Haimavatiśālabhañjikā yatra,
   Yatrastutiḥ prasa(śa)sti mūlastambhaṁ namāmi jagataḥ;
   EI, XXI, p. 44,
   Dhṛitigaganasindhupaṭṭaḥ śailasutā śālabhañjikā subhagaḥ
   Jayati jagattrayamaṇḍapamūlastambho Mahādevaḥ.
   I owe the latter reference to Dr. V. S. Pathak.
6. E. g. see the opening verse in *Soḍḍhala's Udayasundarī-kathā* (ed. by C. D. Dalal & E. Krishnamacharya, Baroda, 1920).
   Viśvāmidhe mahati dhāmani mūlahetuḥ
   Stambhastribhūmi subhage jayati trinetraḥ
   Devī girīndraduhitā ghaṭitāyadaṅge-
   bhāge varīyasi virājati śālabhañjī.
7. *PASB*, 1884, p. 138.
8. Sthāṇu (tree-trunk) being made saparṇa, i. e. with leaves, and the same Sthāṇu (Śiva) as Sāparṇa i. e. with Aparṇā (Pārvatī) by Vasanta and Kāmadeva respectively inspired a poet, albeit of modern times, to pen down the following :
   Sa sthāṇuṁ Madanasakhaḥ saparṇamekaṁ
   Sāparṇaṁ madhusachivaśchakāra chānyam

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hypothesis finds support from the legend on this specimen facing outward and reading *Śrī-Rudrasya* in Gupta characters.[1] The bird may be a cock. Its presence in the composition may be easily explained. The bird is a favourite of Kārttikeya, son of Pārvatī, and what is dear to him is equally dear to her.

A seal in the Mathura Museum shows a symbol which is difficult to identify and the legend *namo devyai*, 'salutation to the goddess'.[2] Although Devī occupies a place of eminence in many sects, it is amongst the Śāktas that her pre-eminence is more pronounced. The formula is quite popular and occurs in the *Durgā-saptaśatī*[3], the well known book of hymns in praise of goddess Durgā.

A copper seal in the collection of Shri R. K. Sethi and published recently[4] bears the legend *jitaṁ devyi* in early Gupta characters. The legend is corrupt form of *jitaṁ devyā* 'Victorious is the goddess'. This, undoubtedly, is a motto seal pertaining to the cult of the goddess, and not that of a queen as suggested by Sethi.[5]

We may, in passing, add that several seals from Sunet, Bhita, Rajghat, Basarh, Nalanda and other sites bear the figure of a lion. The lion is the *vāhana* of Durgā, but, when not associated with any definite Śākta legend or device, the lion figure could also be interpreted as an art-motif chosen for its dignity and majesty.

Lakshmī

Lakshmī and Gajalakshmī (i. e. Lakshmī being anointed by two

Tāvetau yugapadaho mithaḥ
Sahāyadekasminnjanayatāṁ vichitravṛittim.
(*Sundara Rāmāyaṇa* by C. Sundara Sastri, canto 9, verse 8). We are indebted to Shri C. Sivaramamurti for this reference).

1. Rudra, it may be argued, could also be the name of the owner of the seal; names directly after the deities though rare, are known (see chap. VIII). In that case, the owner who, as the prefix *Śrī* suggests, being an important person, would have chosen the Śaiva device as it suited his name. The practice of choosing a device connected with one's own name was quite common.
2. We owe this information to Prof. K. D. Bajpai.
3. *Durgāsaptaśatī, adhyāya* 5, *śloka* 9, *namo devyai mahādevyai Śivāyai satataṁ namaḥ.*
4. *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 74-75, pl. VIII, 6.
5. Sethi in *ibid.*, p. 75. The editor of the Journal has also pointed out that Sethi's contention is wrong (*ibid.*, n. 2).

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elephants) appear very frequently on seals. Lakshmī, as the goddess of wealth and prosperity, has always been worshipped by all the communities in ancient India, irrespective of their religious leanings.

It is difficult to be certain about the identification of some female figures, as Lakshmī, on the seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro ;[1] there is hardly any doubt that the iconographic types of Devatās and Yakshiṇīs immensely popular as folk deities, had a great hand in determining the type of Lakshmī figures in subsequent ages.

The first mention of Lakshmī occurs in an apocryphal hymn of the *Ṛigveda* wherein she is addressed by her two names, Śrī and Lakshmī, and is intimately associated with the lotus.[2] But 'Like the lotus plant itself, she is the product of the vegetation of India proper'.[3] Later, she is met with in myths, legends and art-pieces belonging to different religious communities[4]— Buddhist, Hindu and Jaina.

We now proceed with the depiction of Lakshmī on seals and sealings. A sealing from Jhusi shows Lakshmī standing, with her left hand holding a lotus stalk and resting on the hip; the right hand, bent at the elbow, is raised.[5] A *śaṅkha* appears on the left and a vase on the right. Another fragmentary sealing in the same museum shows an almost identical figure of the goddess. There is a *chakra* on the left and a lotus on the right.[6] The female figure on no. 208[7] in Spooner's list of Basarh seals with her right hand out-stretched and the left on the hip, seemingly clasping a lotus stalk, represents the same goddess.[8] The same identification is applicable to the female figure standing, facing, with the right hand in *varada-mudrā* and left

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1. For a recent attempt of such identification, see Dr. Rai Govindachandra's *Prāchīna Bhārata meṁ Lakshmī-Pratimā*, pp. 15-18.
2. *Ṛigveda*, 2.6 (*Khila*); cf. the adjectives *padma-sambhavā* (lotus-born) *padma-sthitā* (on lotus) *padmavarṇā* (lotus-coloured) *padma-ūru* (lotus-thighed), *padmākshi* (lotus-eyed), etc.
3. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 90. The patriarchal Āryans placed Brahmā on the lotus seat and did not give the goddess the same importance which she held with the indigenous peoples, but, with the gradual fusion of the Āryan and non-Āryan cultures, the goddess found her former pre-eminence.
4. According to Banerjea, the female figure found by Cunningham at Besnagar is the earliest representation of the goddess, Śrī-Lakshmī (*JISOA*, 1941, pp. 143-45 ; p. 374). For a different view, see Jaiswal, *Origin and Development of Vaishṇavism*, pp. 102-03.
5. Allahabad Museum, no. 460.
6. The legend on this seal is not clear.
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 134.
8. See also *DHI*, p. 196.

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clasping a tall lotus shown on no. 312[1] of the same list, of which no. 446 is a duplicate.[2]

The goddess also appears on one of the two impressions on sealing no. 779 in the same list.[3] She holds in her left hand a lotus stalk which rises above her shoulder. Earlier excavations by Bloch at the same site yielded a sealing which shows the deity amidst lotuses.[4]

A very interesting sealing from Basarh[5] bears the figure of a goddess standing on a high pedestal on a boat in a characteristic pose with left hand on the hip and the right one raised. There are also a *śaṅkha* and a bull-like animal[6] (pl. XXI, 6). The presence of the *śaṅkha* favours her identification with Lakshmī.[7] Her presence in a barge is symbolic of her association with riches[8] and waters. On the seal of the house-holders of Vaiśālī, she is shown standing on flowers.[9]

A Rajghat sealing[10] shows a very graceful figure of lakshmī standing on a lotus with a *chakra* like object on a pedestal on the proper right and an indistinct object on her proper left. Riches seem to trickle down from her hands held downwards (pl. XII, 1).[11]

We may also mention a clay sealing from Sunet bearing on one side a *triśūla* and, on the other, the legend *Śrī-sthānasya*.[12] The legend suggests that the place was sacred and that a temple dedicated to Śrī-Lakshmī probably existed there.

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 140, pl. XLVII.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 143, pl. XLVIII.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 153, pl. L.
4. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, pl. XLII, no. 56. Bloch does not identify the female figure (*ibid.*, p. 119, no. 131).
5. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 129-30, no. 93, pl. XLVI.
6. Dr. Rai Govindachandra takes it as a Garuḍa (*op. cit.*, p. 84). But this is highly doubtful.
7. Spooner's suggestion that the sealing may suggest the cult of Anahita (*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 130) has rightly been rejected by Banerjea (*DHI*, p. 196).
8. It may be noted here that many of the owners of these seals and sealings were artisans, traders and bankers.
9. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110, pl. XL, 4.
10. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6377.
11. See also Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 198.
12. *JNSI*, XX, p. 68, no. 3. Cf. Śrī-kshetra (Puri, Orissa); Śiva-thala (=Śivasthala), *vide* Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 130.

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Gajalakshmī[1]

The Gajalakshmī motif is a feature of Indian art from remote antiquity and has received somewhat detailed notice in iconographic texts.[2] In the case of the early Buddhist art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya, etc.,[3] the possibility of Buddhists appropriating this motif to depict Māyā Devī (Buddha's mother) being bathed by two Nāgas, after her delivery of the child Siddhārtha (Buddha), cannot be entirely ruled out.[4] Foucher's view[5] that Gajalakshmī has its prototype in Māyā Devī figures is generally unacceptable to scholars as the antiquity of the concept of the former goes to an earlier period than the latter.[6]

Basarh seals

No. 3 in Bloch's list of Basarh seals[7] shows Lakshmī standing in the midst of a group of trees with elephants pouring water over her and two attendants holding objects resembling money-bags (pl. XI, 4). There are no attendants on no. 4 of the same list.[8] On her either side are shown lotus flowers and buds (pl. XI, 3). No. 8[9] also shows a similar device. In no. 5[10] she holds a flower in her left hand and her attendants pour out coins (pl. XI, 5). No. 6[11]

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1. Seals bearing Gajalakshmī device have also been discussed by us in our paper 'Gajalakshmī on Seals' in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakshmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature* (ed. by D. C. Sircar), pp. 112-25.
2. *Vishṇudharmottara P.*, III, 82.7 ;
   Āvarjita-ghaṭaṁ kāryaṁ taṭpṛishṭhe kuñjaradvayam ;
   Matsya P.,241.46,
   Karibhyāṁ snāpyamānāsau bhṛiṅgārābhyāmanekaśaḥ,
   prakshālayantau kariṇau bhriṅgārābhyāṁ tathā' parau.
   Cf. also *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi, Vratakhaṇḍa*, p. 76,
   padmasthā padmahastā cha gajotkshipta ghaṭaplutā.
3. V. S. Agrawala opines that even the *stūpas* were created due to the common efforts of all people, irrespective of their faith (*Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 161).
4. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, p. 96 fn. 1. Motichandra also holds a similar view ('Our Lady of Beauty and Abundance Padmā Śrī', *Nehru Abhinandan Granth*, 1949, p. 511). For an opposite view, see Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt, 1, 1937, p. 21, fn. 1).
5. Foucher, *On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity* (*MASI*, No. 46), pp. 2 and 21.
6. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, p. 96, fn. 1.
7. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 107, pl. XL, no. 10.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 107. Nine specimens are known.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 107, pl. XL, no. 11. Twelve specimens of this are known.

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bears the same device but here the elephants are shown as standing on flowers. Lakshmī is shown wearing a *sārī* and a *mukuṭa* and holds a lotus stalk in her left hand, her right hand being in *varada-mudrā*. A kneeling male attendant wearing a knob-shaped *mukuṭa* on the head and showering coins with one hand from a bag[1] in front of him appears on either side of her. No. 7[2] in the list is fragmentary but seems to represent a device similar to no. 6. No. 9[3] shows Gajalakshmī with attendants and money-bags and holding a flower in her left hand. No. 10,[4] of which twenty-seven specimens have been found, bears the main device; other details are not clear. No. 11[5] has the main device with bags but without attendants. On no. 13[6] we have attendants standing and pouring out coins from the pots held in their hands and Lakshmī holds a flower in her hand. On no. 20[7] she holds an eight-petalled flower and the attendants hold in their hands pots or bags with mouths downward and pour out coins. In no. 21[8] Lakshmī is shown holding a lotus in the left hand and the right seeems to be in *varada-mudrā*. The attendants, standing with heads bent backward and one leg forward, guard the jar with one of their hands on it. Lakshmī wears ear-rings, bangles and *sārī*, the folds of which are clear near the feet. On no. 22,[9] the attendants pour out coins from pots and Lakshmī holds a seven-petalled flower. Likewise, on no. 23[10], the attendant figures pour out coins.

One important Gajalakshmī sealing[11] was unearthed at the same site in the excavations conducted by Spooner. There is a *śaṅkha* to her proper left, and perhaps a *pūrṇaghaṭa* on the proper right. She wears a *sārī* and an *uttarīya*, the ends of the latter shown floating in the air, and *kuṇḍalas* hanging from her ears. All the Basarh sealings bearing Gajalakshmī motif belong to the Gupta period.

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1. Banerjea points out that the shape of money-bags is similar to the bags shown under a *Kalpadruma* capital found at Besnagar (*DHI*, p. 194).
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 7.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 108, pl. XL, 7.
7. *Ibid.*, 109, pl. XL, 8.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 109, pl. XL, 13.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 134, no. 200, pl. XLVII.

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Bhita seals

We may now take into account the representation of Gajalakshmī on Bhita seals. In the Gupta sealing no. 32 in Marshall's list[1], Lakshmī is shown standing, facing. The elephants seem to stand on lotuses. The right hand of the goddess is raised in the *abhaya* pose while the left rests on what looks like a bird-figure, perhaps Garuḍa.[2] The goddess wears *kuṇḍalas*, bangles and *sārī* (pl. XI, 2). The representation on no. 34 in the same list[3] is similar. In no. 35,[4] she stands on a lotus and holds lotus in the right hand. The dwarfish attendant figures are shown in crouching position on the lotus[5] with hands folded. The elephants also stand on lotuses (pl. X, 1). In no. 42[6] she stands on a fully blossomed lotus holding a *śaṅkha* in the right hand and a bird (Garuḍa?) in the left. The attendants are conspicuous by their absence. There are vases from which their contents—perhaps coins[7]—flow out (pl. XII, 2).

Nalanda seals

A few sealings from Nalanda also portray the Gajalakshmī device. The *gajas* in the sealing of a *kumārāmātya* of Nagarabhukti[8] (pl. XI, 1) have, curiously enough, been shown like Gaṇeśa figures—elephant-headed and human-bodied. There are no attendant figures. Further, these composite figures seem to be offering *kamalanālas* to the goddess rather than bathing her with the *ghaṭas*. The goddess is haloed and wears a knob-shaped *mukuṭa*, ear-rings and necklace. The folds of the *sārī* are clear. The round-shaped vessels of coins are seen. The goddess, the composite figures and the vessels of coins all appear on a pedestal.

The Gajalakshmī figure on the sealing of the office of Rājagṛiha *vishaya*[9] is haloed, and the attendants are disposed in a normal manner. A flag-staff

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1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, pl. XVIII, no. 32.
2. According to Banerjea, what has been taken as bird by Marshall may, in fact, be a *chaurī* held downwards, its handle looking like the neck of a bird (*DHI*, p. 196). But the possibility of its being a representation of lotus-bud also cannot be precluded.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, pl. XVIII, no. 34. The seal is shown upside down on the plate.
4. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 53, pl. XIX, no. 35.
5. Cf. attendant figures similarly disposed in *ASIAR*, 1903-04, no. 8.
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, pl. XIX.
7. Marshall suggested flower or water (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54). See, however, Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 197.
8. *MASI*, 66, pp. 52 and 53, pl. VI, b.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 49, no. S. 1, 794.

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in a pot and flowers are shown on the sides. Lakshmī in the sealing of the *kumārāmāṭya* of Magadhabhukti[1] stands on a lotus and holds a lotus stalk in the left hand, while her right hand is in *varada-mudrā*. There are two attendants and the elephants stand on pedestals. On another *kumārāmātya adhikaraṇa* sealing[2] we find Lakshmī seated on lotus and each of the elephants seems to be offering a lotus, while both the attendants have one of their hands on vessels of riches. Lakshmī herself holds a lotus in her left hand and the position of the right hand suggests as if she were about to open the lid of the vessel.

Rajghat seals

Gajalakshmī also appears on some Rajghat sealings. A Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing[3] portrays her with a halo and standing on lotus. She holds a lotus in her left hand; the elephants anointing her form a sort of canopy over her head with their trunks. Below the trunks are shown jars, their mouths downwards (pl. X, 3). Another[4] in the same collection shows Lakshmī standing with attendants. Faint traces of elephants performing *abhisheka* are noticeable (pl. X, 2). Similar device also occurs on a third one[5] of the same collection.

Kauśāmbī seal

Gajalakshmī occurs on a Ghoshitārāma monastery sealing restruck with the legend *Toramāṇa* (pl. XXII, 2). There are no attendants. There seems to be a Garuḍa figure on the right of the goddess. Both, she and the elephants, stand on lotuses ; in the latter case the long stalks of lotuses have also been shown.

Ahichchhatrā seals

On a sealing from Ahichchhatrā in the Antiquity Section of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Lakshmī stands on a lotus with lotuses on either side. She holds a lotus in her left hand and doles out coins with the right. The attendants, down on knees, are shown in *namaskāra-mudrā* (pl. XII, 6). Another sealing from the same site and in the same collection[6] shows Lakshmī standing on a lotus with lotuses all around. The attendants

1. *MASI*, 66, p. 51, nos. S. 1, 813, 817, 808, 691 and also pl. V, k.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 52, no. S. 1, 784, pl. V, 1.
3. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6375.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 6376.
5. *Ibid.*, no. 6478.
6. No. AC II, 4353.

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are seated on knees. Treasure-pots, however, are conspicuous by their absence. Likewise, one of the two impressions on a lump in the same collection[1] shows the Gajalakshmī device (pl. XIII, 5).

Eran seal

The same device has been depicted very artistically on a sealing recently unearthed in the excavations at Eran (pl. XII, 3). The left hand of the goddess rests on her thigh and the right holds a lotus stalk. The *gajas* stand on fully blossomed lotuses. The goddess, however, does not stand on lotus but simply on a pedestal. There are no attendant figures.

Vadrāntapa-vishaya seal

Lakshmī is shown standing on a lotus on a Vadrāntapa *vishaya* sealing of the Gupta period.[2] The usual two elephants perform the *abhisheka*. There is a *chaitya*-like device at each corner.

Tippera Copper plate seal

The seal[3] on the aforesaid plate shows Gajalakshmī with two attendants pouring out the contents from jars. The goddess stands on a lotus. One of her hands is raised and holds something, perhaps a *bilva* fruit, while the other is in *varada-mudrā*. Lotus flowers and buds flank her on both sides.

Seals of the kings of Śarabhapura

The Pipardula copper-plate seal of king Narendra,[4] the Arang Copper plate of Jayarāja,[5] the Raipur[6] and Kharihar[7] plates of king Sudevarāja show Gajalakshmī figures. The goddess as well as the elephants stand on lotuses. She holds a lotus in her right hand and a circular object in the left. In the proper right corner is a lotus and on the proper left a *śaṅkha*. The Thakurdiya Copper-plate seal of king Pravararāja[8] bears identical device with the exception that it has a lotus in place of *śaṅkha* on the proper left.

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1. No. AC II, 4448.
2. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 401-02, illustration on p. 402.
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 120-22, fig. 19 on p. 121. The pl. is of a later period (7th century or even later) while the seal, as evident from the palaeography of the legend *Kumārāmātyā-dhikaraṇasya* thereon, is of the Gupta period (*EI*, XV, pp. 301 ff. and pl.).
4. *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 13 ff., pl. facing p. 144.
5. *CII*, III, no. 40, p, 191, pl. XXVI.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 196, pl. XXVII.
7. *EI*, IX, p. 171, pl. facing p. 173.
8. *Ibid.*, XXII, pl. facing p. 23.

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Seals of Gopachandra Dharmāditya and Jayanāga

The inscribed seals on the two Faridpur Copper-plates of Dharmāditya[1] show the figure of Gajalakshmī. Most of the details are lost but, in one[2], lotus buds and stalks and a small human figure is visible. It is likely that the much corroded Faridpur Copper-plate seal of Gopachandra[3], bearing identical legend, also bore the same device. Gajalakshmī is also seen on the much worn seal of the Vappaghoshavata plate of Jayanāga.[4]

It was under the Imperial Guptas, who styled themselves *paramabhāgavatas*, that Gajalakshmī was, for the first time, adopted as a symbol of the administrative offices. The motif, however, was used as a coin-device both by indigenous and foreign rulers a few centuries earlier[5] and also subsequently.[6] The Guptas did not favour this motif on their coins (though they did represent Lakshmī without elephants) and relegated it to seals of provincial- district- and city-officials.[7]

According to Dikshitar,[8] the occurrence of Gajalakshmī on *kumārāmātya* seals indicates that *kumārāmātyas* were treasury officers. The motif, undoubtedly, is most commonly found on the *kumārāmātya* seals, but it also occurs on those of some other offices and even on the seals of feudatory kings who cannot be identified as treasury officers.[9] The *Paramabhāgavata* Gupta rulers seem to have favoured this motif as a symbol of prosperity and good-luck to the empire suggesting that the officials performed *abhisheka* of the Rājyalakshmī as the elephants did in the case of the goddess Lakshmī.[10] We have

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1. *IA*, XXXIX, pl. IV (facing p. 208), a, b.
2. *Ibid.*, b.
3. *Ibid.*, c.
4. *EI*, XVIII, p. 61, pl. facing p. 63.
5. Kauśāmbī coins of *circa* third century B. C. (Allan, *CCAI*, p. 149, pl. XX, 15) ; coins of Viśākhadeva (*ibid.*, p. 131, pl. XVI, no. 14), Śivadatta (*ibid.*, p. 134, pl. XLIXI, 5), etc., of Ayodhya (1st century B. C.) ; on the coins of foreign rulers like Azilises (Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 132, pl. XIII, no. 332), Rajuvula (*CCAI*, p. 187, pl. XXVI, 1) Śoḍāsa (*ibid.*, p. 190, pl. XXVI, no. 16). See also *DHI*, p. 110 (text and n.).
6. Coins of Śaśāṅka (Allan, *Cat. of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pl. XXIII, nos. 14-16) of Jaya (*ibid.*, pl. XXIV, 7-8).
7. To equate, as it were, the earlier rulers with their own officials. It is also likely that they frowned upon such an elaborate portrayal of Gajalakshmī on their coin-types as it would have overshadowed their own portraits on the other side of their coins. At least one of the Gupta rulers, Kumāragupta, preferred to portray the elephant with his own figure (rather than with goddess Lakshmī). Cf. the 'Elephant-rider type' of his coins.
8. *Gupta Polity*, p. 157.
9. *Supra*, p. 112.
10. *Ibid. Cf. Kula-Lakshmī* and *Vaṁśa-Lakshmī* (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 322, 23).

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noticed that the device is portrayed on terracotta and copper seals from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. The area covered by these seals coincides, more or less, with what lay directly under Gupta rule after the conquests of Samudragupta and at least up to the time of Budhagupta.

Lakshmī is shown as standing or otherwise, holding or not holding in her hand (or hands) a lotus flower, with or without foliage. She is shown variously as *Padmasthā* (on lotus), *Padmahastā* (lotus in hand) and *Padmavāsinī* (resting amidst lotuses) and, sometimes, in a combination of all these. In sculptural representations and on coins she is mostly shown as standing but examples of her sitting posture are also known.[1] She has, however, been invariably shown standing, on seals. On glyptics she is mostly shown as wearing *sārī* and sometimes also an *uttarīya* with necklace, ear-rings and bangles as ornaments. Texts dealing with her iconography also prescribe that she should be well-dressed and wear various types of ornaments.[2] Her physique on seals, as also in other types of representations, is characterised with developed breasts, narrow waist and prominent buttocks—all symbolic of the Indian concept of beauty, prosperity and fertility for which the goddess is so well-known.[3]

The glyptics invariably portray her two-handed.[4] The iconographic texts, however, speak of her two, four and even more hands.[5] In sculptures

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1. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, II, pl. XXV ; *ibid.*, II, pl. XLI ; on coins, see Allan, *CCAI*, pl. XLIII, no. 5 (coin of Śivadatta).
2. Cf. *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* and *Śilparatna* (Rao, *EHI*, I(ii) pp. 373-74) ; *Matsya P.*, 261-62,
   Padma-svastika-śaṅkhairvā bhūshitaiḥ kuṇḍalālakaiḥ
   Kañchukabaddha gātrīcha hārabhūshau payodharau
   nāgabhūshopamau bāhū keyūrakaṭakojjvalau.
   Even in the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*(36), it is said that Triśalā, mother of Mahāvīra, saw in one of her dreams, Lakshmī decked with a garland of *dināras* and being anointed by elephants.
3. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 4.3.1ff.), for example, she is said to possess power, prestige, universal kingdom and many other things that a man would like to possess in this world. The same text says that the gods deprived her of these and she could regain them only after offering oblations to gods. This is taken by some as suggestive of the entry of this goddess from the non-Āryan fold to the Āryan.
4. The *Vishṇudharmottara* (3.82) says that, in association with Hari, she should be two-handed and, when worshipped alone, four-handed. The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* (*vide* Rao, *EHI*, I, (II), Appendix C, p. 133) prescribes the two-handed variety. The *Śilparatna* (*vide* Rao, *ibid.*, I (II), p. 374) refers to both varieties. The *Matsya* (261.43) and *Agni* (50.15) *Purāṇas* refer to the latter variety. The *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* describes her Mahālakshmī form as eighteen-handed (*vide* Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 373).
5. E. g. Rao, *EHI*, I (ii), CXI.

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the two-handed variety has been favoured, though four-handed figures are also met with.[1] The latter type is a development of post-Gupta period. The iconographic texts prescribe attributes for all of her hands, be they two or four. On glyptics, however, she is generally shown as holding a lotus or a *bilva* fruit (?) (the latter only on the Tippera copper-plate seal) in one hand and the other in *varada-mudrā* or *abhaya-mudrā* or just hanging down. Many of the postures of the goddess seen in the sculptures[2] are, however, not met with on seals and coins.

The attendants are variously disposed—standing or sitting in *namaskāra-mudrā*, guarding vessels of riches, pouring out coins from jars kept-on pedestal or bare ground, or simply looking at the goddess as if waiting for her command. The attendants are to be identified with Yakshas whose overlord is Kubera.[3] The former, as custodians of riches, provide an appropriate combination with Lakshmī—the goddess of wealth and prosperity, the underlying idea being that the Yakshas (as custodians of riches) rewarded those who were specially favoured by the goddess at her command.[4] Literary[5]

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1. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara* (3.82.2), when portrayed two-handed, she should hold lotus in both hands and when four-handed, with a lotus, *amṛitaghaṭa*, *śaṅkha* and *bilva* (3.82.3-7). The *Agni* (50.15) and *Matsya* (260.43) *Purāṇas* prescribe a lotus and *śrīphala* in her two hands, the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* (Rao, *EHI*, I (ii), Appendix C, p. 133) and the *Śilparatna* (Rao, *ibid.*, p. 374) maintain that she should hold a *śrīphala* and lotus. The latter also says that in a four-handed variety the right ones should hold a lotus with a long stalk and a *bilva* fruit and the two left ones an *amṛitaghaṭa* and a *śaṅkha* respectively.
2. E. g. goddess pressing her breasts (the idea being that of the mother rich in milk) with one hand and holding cloth in another (Barua, *Barhut*, III, pl. LXVII, no. 86), one hand on the hip and the other raised (Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, II, pl. XI), lotus in one hand and a cloth in the other (*ibid.*, pl. XXIV) or with folded hands (*ibid.*, III, LXXXIII, 49). She as well as the elephants are sometimes shown on lotuses springing from *pūrṇaghaṭas* (*ibid.*, II, pl. XLI).
3. Bloch identified the attendants as Kubera figures. It would be strange to depict two figures of Kubera on a single seal in one and the same context. Banerjea (*DHI*, p. 195) has convincingly identified them as Yakshas.
4. Cf. *DHI*, p. 195.
5. In the *Mahābhārata* (Cal. ed., 2.10.18-19) she is present in the court of Kubera along with Nalakubara. At one place (Cal. ed., 3.168.18) in the same text Kubera is described as united with Lakshmī (See also Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 372). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V. 7.14) she is said to have been represented on the car of Kubera with lotus in her hand. In *Jātaka* no. 382 (*Siri Kālakaṇṇi Jātaka*), she has been referred to as the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, Regent of the East, who is represented as a Yaksha in a Bharhut sculpture (Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, II, fig. 3). According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (*vide* Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 105 and 195), the eight *nidhis* which are particularly

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and sculptural[1] evidences reveal her close association with Kubera in particular and the Yakshas in general. The Abhisheka-Lakshmī representations on coins, however, are conspicuous by the absence of attendant figures.

Some texts[2] dealing with the iconographical features of this goddess prescribe her representation to be attended by maidens with *chāmaras* in their hands. Some sculptures[3] actually depict such female figures attending on her. The seals, however, invariably show them as males, one on either side. The obvious intention was to depict the figures of Lakshmī and Yakshas together, both symbolic of wealth and prosperity.

On the *kumārāmātya* sealing from Nagarabhukti, instead of elephants and Yakshas, we have Gaṇeśa-like[4] figures; one on either side, which seem to combine the elephant and Yaksha idea into one, a fact supported by the disposition of these figures. Normally, the elephants stand higher up than the shoulders of the goddess, but the composite figures have been depicted here almost at a level midway between the elephant and the Yakshas on other seals. Their trunks, however, go high up.

Iconographic texts do not mention Garuḍa in the context of Gajalakshmī. His presence on seals seems to be motivated by its being the *vāhana* of Vishṇu, her consort.[5]

There is considerable variety in the depiction of elephant figures—either standing on flowers or otherwise, bathing the goddess with water-jars held in their trunks or offering *kamala-nālas*. The elephants are also symbolic of prosperity and regal pomp. Airāvata, the elephant *par excellence*, was also one of the fourteen precious things, including Lakshmī, obtained from the churning of the ocean and, it is said that, Lakshmī left the wicked Asuras and went to Indra[6] to whom also belongs the elephant Airāvata. For

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associated with Kubera are the *ādhāra* of *padminīvidyā* whose presiding deity is goddess Lakshmī.

1. E. g. in a statue in the University Museum, Philadelphia, Lakshmī is shown with Gaṇeśa and Kubera (Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, pt. II, pl. VIII, fig. 1) and in a Sanchi sculpture with yaksha *mithuna* (Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, III, pl. LXXXIII, 49).
2. E. g. *Matsya, P.*, 261.45 ; *Śilparatna*, as referred to by Rao, *EHI*, I (ii), p. 374.
3. E. g. Rao, *EHI*, I (ii), pl. IX (from Ellora) and pl. CIX (from Mahābalīpuram).
4. Coomaraswamy (*Yakshas*, pt. I, p. 7) points out that originally Gaṇeśa himself was a Yaksha. For an elephant-headed Yaksha from Amarāvatī, see Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*, pl. XXIII, fig. 1.
5. The concept of owl as her *vāhana* is of post-Gupta period and is not met with on seals.
6. *Mbh.* (Critical ed., Poona)., XII, 218.

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symbolism, the depiction of one elephant would have sufficed, or else, four—representing the four quarters—would have been apt as noticed, though rarely, in some mediaeval sculptures.[1] The depiction of two elephants seems to be for the sake of symmetry; the *Vishṇudharmottara*,[2] however, tells us that the two elephants are to be known as two *nidhis*, *śaṅkha* and *padma*.

Though apparently incongruous, the depiction of elephants, standing on frail lotus flowers, is also met with in sculpture[3] (but perhaps not on coins); it emphasises that, the elephants, too, like the goddess, are associated with water.[4]

Born in water, the lotus, too, emphasises the association of the goddess with waters. This close association of the goddess with lotus is met with even in the *Śrīsūkta*[5] and the concept seems to go back even to the pre-Āryan period.[6] We come across the goddess with lotus in hand, lotus as her seat and lotuses around her. Lotus, the symbol of beauty and purity, in some form or the other, is associated with several deities belonging to different pantheons[7] but its association with Lakshmī is most intimate. In fact, Lahshmī without lotus is unthinkable. The *śaṅkha*, too, has its origin in water. The Basarh seal[8] depicting Lakshmī (without elephants) with *śaṅkha* on a boat seemingly suggests the personification of wealth being amassed through water-borne trade. Moreover, the lotus and *śaṅkha* are the two attributes of her consort, Vishṇu, as also the two *nidhis* of Kubera.[9]

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1. Rao, *EHI*, I (ii), pl. CX.
2. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III. 82. 10.
3. Barua, *Barhut*, III, 79, 80; Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, III, pl. LXXXIII, 49.
4. The elephants, symbolic of glory and royalty, might have even once represented the goddess theriomorphically and the *śrīvatsa* aniconically, as can be inferred from the three Madras Museum statues depicting figures of the goddess within the frame-work of the *śrīvatsa*, (Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 375, pl. XIX, 1-3) and both might have been retained as accessories in her anthropomorphic representations, almost like the seat, the *Bodhi* tree, etc., which once symbolised the Buddha, and were retained even after his anthropomorphic representations came in vogue.
5. *Supra*, p. 177, fn. 1.
6. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 90.
7. Brahmā emerges from the lotus navel of Vishṇu; Vishṇu often holds lotus in one of his hands. Lotus symbolises Buddha's nativity (Foucher, *Beginnings of the Buddhist Art*, p. 21; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 43) and is invariably shown in the hands of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. Red lotus and blue lotus are *lāñchhanas* of the Tīrthaṅkaras Padmaprabha and Naminātha respectively (Mrs. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 52).
8. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 129. 30, no. 93, pl. XLVI.
9. Cf. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 105 fn.

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The jars symbolise rivers. Water is also a symbol of creation[1] and the goddess is intimately associated with creative energy.

Concluding, there is a good deal of variety in the depiction of Gajalakshmī device on seals. The most elaborate ones show Lakshmī, elephants, water vessels, jars of riches, two attendant-figures and lotus flowers together with stalks, buds and leaves. In some cases, the figures are missing, while in others, jars or both (the attendants and the jars) are absent. A comparison of these with sculptural and numismatic depictions as well as iconographic descriptions in texts brings forth interesting similarities and also dissimilarities.

Other female deities

Rivers as female deities symbolised fertility, abundance of food, flowing vigour and prosperity. A Bhita sealing seems to refer to the river-goddess Sarasvatī. It shows a vase on a pedestal and the legend *Sarasvatī* in Gupta characters (pl. XXI, 3).[2] The vase probably is the aniconic representation of the same river goddess.[3] It appears that, earlier, every river goddess could be represented by a *ghaṭa* symbol. Even today, in *Varuṇapūjā*, the jar symbolises the river-goddess.

In course of time, rivers began to be represented as female figures, and were provided with different *vāhanas* which served the purpose of label inscriptions. In Gupta and later sculptures we find the Ganga and the Yamuna on their respective *vāhanas—makara* and *kachchhapa*. Traditions, however, die hard; the sealing shows that even in the Gupta period the old methods of depicting the goddesses by *ghaṭa* continued along with their anthropomorphic representations.[4]

A few glyptics seem to represent the Māṭṛikā figures.' The four-armed goddess on a Nalanda seal[5] riding a bull (?) holds a sword, a *triśūla*, a

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1. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, II, p. 14.
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 18.
3. Sarasvatī is one of the most sacred rivers of India. It was on the banks of this river that some of the Vedic hymns were composed. She is invoked in the famous *Nadīsūkta* (*Ṛigveda*, X, 75.5-8); an inscription of the mediaeval period also contains an invocation to her (*EI*, I, p. 245, l. 4). The device does not favour the interpretation of the legend as Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning.
4. It is interesting that, even after the anthropomorphic representation of the goddess, the *ghaṭa* remains there; the device, once symbolic of the goddess herself, is reduced to an attribute which she holds.
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 42, no. S. 1, 547, pl. III, l.

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rosary and an indistinct object in the right upper, right lower, left upper and left lower hands respectively. She may stand for Māheśvarī.

One of the two impressions (S. I, 836 and 807) on a clay lump from Nalanda has the representation of a goddess with a child.[1] A similar device occurs on two of the seven impressions on a clay lump from Nalanda.[2] The one (top middle) belonging to an *agrahāra* shows a serpent on either side of the goddess while the other (middle row, middle) bears the sun on the right and a serpent and a tree on the left of the female deity. These two representations suggest that the female figure stands for some local Māṭrikā.

SECTION IV

OTHER BRAHMANICAL DIVINITIES

Sun

The Sun as dispeller of darkness and bestower of light and heat found a place in the ancient cults of countries all over the world. Some of the symbols on the Harappan antiquities may be interpreted as connected with the Sun. In the Vedic period, Sun, undoubtedly, was one of the most important divinities.

The cult of this god is not very popular in India today but the images of the deity from various parts of the country, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era to the twelfth century A. D., clearly indicate the popularity of his cult. The seals corroborate the sculptural evidence in as much as they show that Sun was widely worshipped in the Gupta period at least in the Middle and Eastern India. It may be noted that some Gupta epigraphs[3] also attest to the popular devotion of the people towards this deity.

A red clay seal[4] from Taxila represents a figure riding in a chariot drawn by two horses. It is taken to have been a rude copy of some Greek model, in view of the fact that the coins of Platon show that the theme of Helios driving his chariot was well-known in Bactria whereas the chariot of the

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 42, pl. III, i.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55, no. S. 1, 672, pl. VI, i.
3. E. g. Mandasor Ins. of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman (*CII*, III, no. 18), Indor Cop. pl. Ins. of Skandagupta (*ibid.*, no. 16), Gwalior St. Ins. of Mihirakula (*ibid.*, no. 37), etc.
4. *ASR*, XIV, p. 15, pl. IX, 5.

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Indian Sun-god is drawn either by four or by seven horses and is generally shown with some accessory figures, which features are lacking here.[1]

Very interesting is the fire-altar device on seals and sealings from several sites. It occurs on a Sunet sealing with the legend *Ripuśalyo*[2] and on several Bhita ones bearing the legends *Ādityasya*[3] (pl. XX, 1), *Anantadattasya*[4] (pl. XX, 2), *Yakshanāga*[5](?) and an illegible one[6] respectively. Those from Basarh bear variously the legends *(Gu)ravasya,*[7] *Lakshmaṇa*[8] (?), *Ravidāsa*[9] (pl. XX, 3), *Bhagavata Ādityasya,*[10] and an illegible one;[11] the Rajghat ones bear the legends *Ravidatta* (pl. XX, 8), *Lolakāditya*[12] and *Devakuṇḍa*[13] (pl. XX, 4). Of these Lolārka is identical with the famous Sun temple mentioned in the Purāṇas[14] and in an epigraph.[15] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Lolārka was one of the five essential *tīrthas* in the *Anandakānana* of Viśveśa.[16] It was only one of the shrines of Sun in Kāśī[17] and was situated at the confluence of the Assi and the Ganga.[18] It is now represented by the deity of the

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1. *ASR*, XIV, p. 15.
2. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 106-07, no. 13, pl. facing p. 98.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 98, pl. XXI, now in Indian Museum (A11299-NS1587).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 59, no. 99, pl. XXI, 99; now in Indian Museum (no. A11278-NS1591).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 59, pl. XXI, no. 100. Marshall is not sure of the device.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 59, no. 101, pl. XXI, 101.
7. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 113, no. 63, pl. XLI, 27.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 116, no. 89; even the device is doubtful (*ibid.*).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 117, no. 101; pl. XL, 9; now in the Indian Museum (no. A11381-NS6237).
10. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 118-20 and 149 no. 609, pl. XLIX.
11. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 119, no. 129. It is combined with *Kulika-Nāgadattasya*.
12. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 176, fig. 1 on p. 177.
13. Allahabad Museum no. R. 92. No. 42 in this Museum also bears the same device and legend. Both these bear on the reverse three impressions: (i) a haloed female figure, (ii) the legends *masa* and (iii) *Supremasya*.
14. See *Liṅgapurāṇa* as quoted in *Kṛityakalpataru*, pt. VIII, p. 34. The *Kāśi-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, (46.48) says that the Sun was called Lolārka as his mind became agitated when he saw Kāśī.
    Tasyārkasya mano lolaṁ yadāsīt Kāśidarśane,
    ato Lolārka ityākhyā Kāśyāṁ jātā Vivasvataḥ.
15. Bangavan pl. of Govindachandra and his queen Gosalādevī (EI, V, p. 117). Lolārka occurs as a name of a person of the family of Dahimas (*EI*, XXII, p. 61, verse 13). The cult is connected with Dahiyas who are identical with Dahae, an associated clan or sub-division of the Scythians (*JNSI*, XIX, p. 178).
16. *Matsya P.*, 185.68-9.
17. *Skanda P.*, *Kāśi-khaṇḍa*, Chap. 10; See also *ibid.*, Chaps. 46, 45-47; where shrines of twelve *arkas* in Kāśī are enumerated.
18. *Skanda P.*, *Kāśi-khaṇḍa*, 46. 55.

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Lolārka Kuṇḍa near Bhadaini in Varanasi.[1]

Devakuṇḍa also seems to refer to the Lolārka Kuṇḍa itself where people, specially ladies, flock from far and near to take a dip in the tank on the sixth day of *Śukla Bhādrapada*, every year.

The Iranians and Scythians in general and the Magas in particular were responsible for the spread of the solar cult in which fire played an important part. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* prescribes that Magas should officiate as priests of the temples of Sun.[2] The *Bhavishya*[3] and *Sāmba*[4] *Purāṇas* narrate the story of Sāmba's bringing the Brāhmaṇas from Śakadvīpa to officiate as priests in the Sun temple constructed by him. Literary and epigraphic evidences frequently refer to these people who had become Indianized.[5] Seals and sealings confirm the Iranian and Scythian influences as they show the fire-altar of the Iranian type.

The legends *Ādityasya*, *Ravidāsaḥ*, *Ravidatta*, *Lolakāditya* and *Bhagavato Ādityasya* on our seals bearing the fire-altar device are connected with the Sun-god and are typically Indian in character.

While commenting on the Sunet seal referred to above, Rapson suggested that the legend was Indian but the device of the fire-altar was influenced by the Sassanian coinage, as the same motif occurs on Scytho-Sassanian coins of *circa* 300-450 A. D. in the Kabul and Oxus regions.[6] But Spooner points out that the fire-altar device also occurs some centuries earlier than the Sassanian coins or those of Wima Kadphises.[7] The introduction of attendant figures in the representation of the fire-altar found on Sassanian coins is lacking in both the oldest representations of that device in Persia and also on Indian seals, suggesting thereby that the Indians borrowed the motif in a pre-Sassanian period.[8] The fact that the motif occurs on several finds from different sites in Eastern India lends support to Spooner's theory that the Persian influence was independent of any dynasty.[9] Equally plausible is his

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1. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 409.
2. *Bṛi. Saṁ.*, 60.19,
   Vishṇorbhāgavatān-Magāṁścha Savituḥ Śambhoḥ Sabhasmadvijān.
3. *Bhavishya P., Brahmaparvan*, Chap. CXXXIX-CXLI.
4. *Śāmba P.*, Chap. VII-X.
5. For references, see *JNSI*, XIX, p. 178.
6. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 107.
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 120. He says 'something like a millennium older' than the contact of the Kushāṇas and the Sassanians.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*

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other suggestion that the seal bearing the legend *Bhagavata Ādityasya*, referred to above, belonged to a Sun-temple in Eastern India.[1] Banerjea suggests that the Persians in this case were those eastern Iranians whose migration coincided with the dawn of the Christian era.[2] Of special interest is the fact that sculptural representations of the Sun with *udīchyaveśa* and Indian attributes on the one hand and those on the glyptics with the Persian fire-altar and Indian legend on the other show unmistakably that the immigrant Iranians had been gradually and considerably Indianised.

Brahmā

Brahmā, though an important deity in the Vedic period and regarded as the creator of the universe in the Brahmanical triad, never became a popular cult-deity. He, no doubt, is, eulogised in some passages of the Epics but his Vedic glory never returned. Not infrequently is he shown as subordinate and dependent on Śiva and Vishṇu and even the Buddha and the Tīrthaṅkaras. Later on stories were coined to the effect that Brahmā lost his position as a cult-deity because of the curse of Śiva[3] or that of Sāvitrī.

Iconographic representations of Brahmā are only a few, and range from *circa* second or third century A. D. to mediaeval times. A few of his early mediaeval and later shrines are known.[4] His representation in the Buddhist and Jaina art is in the form of an attendant or subordinate to the divinities of these cults. No king chose the figure of Brahmā as a device on his coins. In the glyptics, the figure of this deity is generally confined to the seals of the communities devoted to Vedic studies. No doubt, the Brahmā figure was an appropriate device for the Brāhmaṇas proficient in Vedic learning, as, according to the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,[5] his four faces stand for the four Vedas.

A *traividya* sealing from Nalanda[6] shows Brahmā, three-faced (the fourth

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 120. He would even suggest that the sealing came from some temple in the adjoining district of Gaya where there is abundant evidence of the Sun-cult at an early period and a large community of Magian Brāhmaṇa-descendents still survives as Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.
2. *DHI*, p. 198.
3. Cf. the story of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti of Śiva.
4. See *DHI*, p. 514.
5. III, 46. 7-8.
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 55, no. S. I, 691, pl. VII, a.

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being supposed to be at the back) and haloed. He holds a rosary in the right and a long-necked amphora in the left.

The Nalanda sealing of *Vishaya-mahattara* Narasvāmin[1] and two *agrahāra* sealings from the same site[2] bear a corpulent male figure seated in *padmāsana*, holding a rosary in the right hand and a long-necked vessel in the left. We may also mention here a sealing from the same site[3] which, though slightly later than the period covered by us, also shows the same deity, seated in the same posture with attributes similarly disposed.

On one of the three reverse impressions of three Rajghat sealings[4], bearing the figure of Mahishāsuramardinī on the obverse, occurs the figure of Brahmā, three-faced and bearded. Another sealing[5] from the same site shows three faces of Brahmā on the obverse (pl. XX, 7) and a floral design on the reverse. Sculptural remains show Brahmā as four-faced, three-faced or with only one face, and, sometimes, bearded. Iconographic texts prescribe four heads and four arms for that deity. Of course, in actual sculptural representations, generally three faces were shown, the fourth one was supposed to have been on the back. The seals show only the two-armed variety invariably holding an *akshamālā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*, two of the attributes of this deity as prescribed in the iconographic texts.[6]

Kārttikeya

Skanda-Kārttikeya is, undoubtedly, one of the most fascinating deities of the Brahmanical pantheon. Several god-concepts of allied nature were merged in the make-up of the personality of this god.[7] His images were being fashioned from a few centuries before Christ[8] and, though he never found a place in the scheme of *pañchadevopāsanā*,[9] he was a favourite deity

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1. *MASI*, p. 66, 53, no. S. I, 824, pl. VI, e.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 56, nos. S. I, 782 and S. I, 350, pl. VII, b and c.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55, no. S. I, 801, pl. VI, h.
4. Nos 424, 407 and 451 in the collection of the Deptt. of A. I. H., C. and Archaeology, B. H. U.
5. Allahabad Museum, no. R. G. 107.
6. Vide Rao, *EHI*, II, pp. 504-05.
7. Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena are all names of Kārttikeya. However, Patañjali (on the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 3.99) mentions Skanda and Viśākha as two different deities while the coinage of Huvishka testifies to the separate entities of Skanda-Kumāra Viśākha and Mahāsena (See Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 144-46).
8. See Patañjali's comment on the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 3.99.
9. In this are included Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Śakti and Gaṇeśa.

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of illustrious kings like Huvishka and Kumāragupta and of the Yaudheya tribe.[1] His cult became very popular in South India.

Whether the peacock on seals and sealings invariably represents simply an art motif or is connected with the cult of Kārttikeya, as the latter's *vāhana* or as the device on his flag, is difficult to determine precisely. However, in cases where the accompanying legend is connected with Kārttikeya, the peacock device may justifiably be taken as pertaining to his cult.

No. 14 in Spooner's list of Basarh seals[2] bears the legend *Vyāghravalasya* and the device of a fan-tailed peacock, similar to that found on the silver coins of Kumāragupta I and some of his successors.

A Bhita seal shows a peacock standing to left with the tail fanned out and the legend *Śrī-Skandaśūrasya*.[3] The *vāhana* of Skanda was appropriately chosen as a seal-device by Skandaśūra, but it is also not unlikely that the legend refers to Skanda himself as *Śūra* (i. e. 'Valiant') and the seal belonged to a temple of Skanda-Kārttikeya. An *amātya* sealing[4] and a sealing of a private individual[5] from the same site also bear the same device. We have already referred to the Bhita sealing bearing the legend interpreted by some as indicative of the king, Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, dedicating his kingdom to Mahāsena (Kārttikeya).[6]

A terracotta seal-die from Rajghat shows a beautifully depicted fantailed peacock and the legend *Śūragupta*.[7] The same legend and device occur on an ivory seal-die from the same site and now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (pl. XXX, 2).[8] *Śūra* refers to Kārttikeya and the name of the owner of the seal would mean 'protected by Kārttikeya'. We may also refer to the extremely artistic seal of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Ksa(Ska)nda with the device of a beautiful fan-tailed peacock from the same site (pl. IX, 4). Both, the name and the device, refer to Kārttikeya.

A Gupta seal from Rajghat[9] shows two warriors standing with spears in their right hands, their left hands akimbo. The legend on the seal reads

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1. We would have expected the representation of the deity on the seals of the Yaudheyas whose coins portray his figures, but no such examples are met with.
2. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 125, pl. XLVII, 271.
3. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 83, pl. XX, 83.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 53, no. 37 a.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 58, no. 83.
6. *Supra*, p. 47.
7. Allahabad Museum, no. 144.
8. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6396.
9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 200.

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Mahāsi(śū?)rasya. Banerjea has rightly compared this seal with a numismatic parallel where the figure of Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha have been depicted.[1]

Dr. Motichandra refers to a seal bearing the device of a dancing peacock and the name *Mahendra*.[2] Names like Viśākhadatta, Suviśākhadatta and Guhāditya, occurring on Rajghat seals,[3] also attest to the popularity of the cult of Kārttikeya.

Gaṇeśa

Gaṇapati in the *Ṛigveda* is used as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati.[4] It appears that, in the first stage, Vināyakas were malevolent spirits combining the terrific aspects of Vedic Rudra with elements drawn from aboriginal cults. Later, the malevolent tendencies were combined with the benevolent ones. The elephant-head, the pot-belly, and the mouse as *vāhana*—characteristic features of Gaṇeśa—do not occur in the Vedic literature; even the invoking of Gaṇeśa at the beginning of auspicious rites is a comparatively later introduction.[5] The iconography of this god was, however, fixed up by about the Gupta period. He finds an honourable place in the Śaiva pantheon and an independent sect centring around him was founded in the early mediaeval period. The elephant head of this deity is symbolic of his capacity to remove obstacles from the path of his invokers while the pot-belly suggests that his images had Yaksha images as their forerunners. Glyptic representations of Gaṇeśa are few and confined to those from Nalanda and Rajghat.

A Nalanda sealing shows him seated, four-armed, holding a *paraśu* in the upper-right, a rosary in the lower right, a dish of sweets in the upper left and an *aṅkuśa* in the lower left hand.[6] The same deity appears on a Nalanda sealing which has another impression—that of the seal of Nalanda monastery.[7]

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1. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 200.
2. *Kaśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 98.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The *mantra—gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ havāmahe* (*Ṛig.*, II. 23.1) is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. See Kane, *HDS*, II (1), p. 213.
5. Kane, *ibid.*
6. *MASI*, 66, p. 41, no. S. I, 789, pl. III g. It also bears an impression of the seal of Nalanda monastery.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 41, no. S. I, 809.

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A Rajghat sealing in the Allahabad Museum[1] shows a two-armed Gaṇeśa, seated (pl, XX, 9), while another from the same site and now housed in the Bharat Kala Bhavan depicts the same deity with four arms (pl. XX, 5).[2]

Yakshas

The Yakshas are credited in tradition and legends as genii of fertility and material prosperity who bestow on their favourites, children, riches, good crop and cattle. Their association with wealth as its guardian-angels is too well-known. They are derived from the pre-Āryan aboriginal traditions which perhaps also treated them as mighty superhuman beings. The Yakshas, together with Nāgas, Gandharvas and such others should 'be regarded as the last remnants of a whole host of forgotten powers, once mighty to be placated, each in its own place.'[3] As lesser gods, they played quite on important role in the development of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina pantheons of divinities.

No. 722 in Spooner's list of Basarh seals bears a *śaṅkha* and the legend (*Śrī*)*Dhanadakasya*.[4] Dhanada is the name of Kubera, and the *śaṅkha* seems to stand for his *śaṅkhanidhi*.

An oval clay sealing from Kauśāmbī[5] shows, in the upper part, a figure of *makara* facing left and, in the lower, the Brāhmī legend, as read by Prof. Bajpai:

Mahadamṛita-yakkshasya Dhanyaśriyaḥ

('[Seal] of the great and immortal Yaksha Dhanyaśrī') in early fourth century A.D. characters.[6] Prof. Bajpai points out that Dhanyaśrī does not occur in the list of Yaksha-names given in such works as the *Mahāmāyūrī* and the *Divyāvadāna*.[7] The adjectives *mahat* and *amṛita* indicate that the Yaksha Dhanyaśrī was considered as a mighty deity blessed with immortality. The device of Makara (which is sometimes also taken as the *vāhana* of a Yaksha) is an appropriate device for seals pertaining to a Yaksha—the Yaksha, like Makara, being

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1. no. 56.
2. It bears the legend *Kalaśeśvara*. See *Supra*, p. 139.
3. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd ed., p. 7.
4. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 151, pl. L.
5. *Bull. of An. Ind. Hist. Arch.*, no. 1, pp. 61-62.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

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intimately connected with water.[1] The sealing seems to be a votive-offering to some Yaksha shrine, probably at Kauśāmbī itself.

A clay tablet in the Lucknow Museum[2] bearing the figure of a bull, a horse, a lion and an elephant and the legend *Yakhadāna* in Mauryan characters (pl. XXXI, 4) has been discussed by us elsewhere.[3] The association of the Yakshas with animals in general and those represented on the sealing in particular is known. In Bharhut sculptures some Yaksha figures have been depicted with animal *vāhanas*—Gāṅgeya[4] and Supravāsa[5] each with a tusker, and Ajakāla with a composite animal having the tail of the Makara and 'the front part of a quadruped'[6] perhaps of a lion or tiger.[7] The Yaksha and Yakshī figures have sometimes been conceived in therianthropic form—part human and part animal.[8]

More significant in the present context is the fact that the *Aupapātra sūtra* and *Antagaḍa Dasāo* refer to the practice of decorating the diases of Yaksha shrines with animal figures[9] including those of the bull, the horse and the elephant—three of the four animals that occur on our tablet. Another evidence suggesting the association of Yakshas with these animals may also be considered. The four animals which occur on the tablet are taken to symbolise the four quarters.[10] The *Chaturmahārājas* are the guardians of these quarters[11] and, interestingly enough, the label inscriptions at Bharhut designate each one of them as a Yaksha.[12] The present tablet, in all probability, was a votive offering to some Yaskha shrine.

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1. See Coomraswamy, *Yakshas*, pt. II, p. 55.
2. No. 609.
3. *Purātattva*, I, pp. 90-92 and pl. X, B; the art-aspect of this sealing is discussed in *infra*, Chap. VII.
4. Barua, *Barhut*, p. I, 60.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
7. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 342-43.
8. *Jātaka* no. 432 (*Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka*) refers to a horse-faced (*Aśvamukhī*) Yakshī; for such a representation, see Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, I, pl. XII, fig. 1; a *Gomukhī* Yakshī in terracotta and a *Gomukha* Yaksha in stone (no. G.385) are in the Lucknow Museum.
9. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, I, pp. 19-20.
10. For details, see our article in *Purātattva*, I, pp. 90-91.
11. Vaiśravaṇa—north, Dhṛitarāshṭra—east, Virūḍhaka—south, and Virūpāksha—west; see *Dīghanikāya*, III, pp. 197-99.
12. Barua, *Barhut*, I, p. 59.

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Nāgas

The Nāgas are the mythical beings—half-human and half-serpent.[1] In mythology the Nāgas inhabit waters, are guardians of riches and often portrayed as *dvārapālas*. Generally, they are counted amongst the 'lesser gods that keep a place on the fringes of the orthodox.' The principal religions of India along with their various sects have shown veneration towards Nāgas in one form or the other; consequently, numerous myths and legends have grown around them. The Nāga (Śesha) serves as the bed of Vishṇu; Śiva has serpents on his body as ornaments; Balarāma is an incarnation of Śeshanāga. Two Tīrthaṅkaras—Pārśva and Supārśva, are shown with snake canopies over their heads. The Buddha, after attaining Enlightenment, received protection against rains from the Nāga Muchalinda. The *Nāga-yajña* of Janamejaya[2] and the stories of Gajendramoksha as well as Kāliyadamana seem to allude to the triumph of Bhāgavata-Vaishṇavism over the Nāga cult.

A clay tablet from Sankisa noticed by us elsewhere[3] bears a human bust with seven hoods attached to the head (pl. XX, 6). We identify it as a Nāga bust. Iconographic texts prescribe that the Nāga figures should be shown with the lower half as serpentine and the upper half as human and with hoods attached to the head.[4] We would not identify it as the figure of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, whose image, according to iconographic texts, should have seven hoods attached to the head as no seal that can be definitely ascribed to Jainism is so far known

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1. Not unlikely, the concept of the Nāgas developed out of reverence to snakes which was mainly due to fear of the deadly effect of snake-bites.
2. It has been suggested that Nāgas were not originally demons but people who had serpent for totem (Oldham *JRAS*, 1901, p. 391) and in the *Nāga-yajña* of Janamejaya, the Nāga people were sacrificed.
3. *JUPHS* (NS), IX, p. 94.
4. *Śilparatna*, (Trivendrum Sanskrit Series), II, 25, 131.

   Nāgānāṁ vakshyate rūpaṁ
   nābherūrdhvaṁ narākṛitiḥ,
   sarpākāramadhobhāgaṁ
   mastake bhogamaṇḍalam.

   The number of hoods according to the same text may be one, three, five, seven or nine (*ekaṁ phaṇaṁ trayaṁ vāpi pañcha vā sapta vā nava, ibid.*, verse 132). But the *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi, Vratakhaṇḍa, adhyāya* I, p. 139, an earlier text, gives five couplets from Maya (i. e. *Mayasaṅgraha*) in which seven hoods have been prescribed for Nāga figures and it is said that their wives and children should bear, either one or three hoods (*DHI*, p. 347 fn).

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to us. The lack of *hala* and *musala* preclude us from identifying it as a figure of Balarāma who is also represented with snake hoods but holds these *āyudhas*.

The country around Mathura was a great centre of Nāga worship as is borne out by the find of several Nāga figures from that area.[1] The tablet bears neither string-marks nor a hole through its thickness; it seems that it was given to a devotee as *prasāda* by the priest of some Nāga shrine. We also come across the depiction of the figures of serpents on some glyptics (pls. VII, 2; XVI, 6; XXIII, 7) which might have some bearing on their worship.

Grāmadevatā

According to Marshall, the human figure standing facing, holding a staff in the right hand and the left hanging down, with an uncertain object to his right and a defaced legend in one of the two impressions on a Bhita clay lump[2] might be the representation of a *Grāmadevatā*. The second impression is that of a village.

Formal representations of Vedicism

The *yūpa* occurs on several seals and sealings from Rajghat. On the seals of Bhīmasena (pl. IV, 2), Harisheṇa (pl. IV, 3) and Navva (pl. IV, 6) and one from Rairh (Rajasthan),[3] it occurs along with other symbols, while on those of Dhanadeva (pl. II, 3) and Nāgārjuna (pl. III, 1) from the same site, along with the bull figure. The same device has also been depicted in front of a horse on a Sunet sealing (pl. XXXVI, 10).[4]

The *yūpa* figures on seals resemble those represented on coins.[5] Banerjea suggests that the bull before a *yūpa* may be a laconic representation of the *śūlagava* sacrifice (sacrifice of a bull to appease Rudra) described in detail in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra*.[6] The horse before the *yūpa* is symbolic of *aśvamedha* sacrifice, which was performed by ambitious and powerful rulers of ancient India.

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1. Vogel, 'Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathura', *ASIAR*, 1908-09, pp. 159-63; *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 41.
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 59, no. 109, pl. XXI.
3. See *JNSI*, III, p. 49.
4. *JRAS*, 1901, pl. facing p. 91.
5. Allan, *CCAI*, pl. XXXIX, nos. 11-12. Ancient texts give details regarding the size and the material of a *yūpa* (see Kane, *HDS*, II (II), pp. 1110-11).
6. *IV, 8, vide* Banerjea, *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 500-01.

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We may make a passing reference here to some very interesting therianthropic representations of the *Ṛigveda* and its two *śākhās* on four sealings from Rajghat and to similar representation of the *Atharvaveda* on a single sealing from the same site. We have discussed these in detail in Chapter VI.

Seals with ritual scenes

A square copper seal from Sirkap, Taxila[1] has the figure of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic seated inside a hut, with the right hand extended over a fire infront of him. The Kharoshṭhī legend on it reads *Brahmadatasa*—'[seal] of Brahmadatta'.

A pyramidal seal of slate from Bhir Mound, Taxila, assigned by Marshall to the early Mauryan period, probably depicts some religious ceremony in progress. It shows a man standing in front of three swords, set trident-like on a stand. He is clad in heavy tunic and belted at the waist; a spherical object, possibly a vessel for oil or lustral water, is shown above the point of sword.[2]

SECTION V

RIVALRY AND RAPPROCHEMENT

Religion has created much that is beautiful and sublime, and it is religion again that has often been responsible for its destruction. It has created feelings of love and oneness, but has also been responsible for factionalism, brutality, oppression and hatred. Some seals and sealings do throw light, in howsoever a scanty fashion, on these two aspects—sectarian rivalries and attempts at rapprochement.

We have already discussed the Basarh seal representing the Narasiṁha incarnation under Vaishṇava seals.[3] The central idea of the story connected with the image is that of Vishṇu punishing Hiraṇyakaśipu, a devotee of Śiva, and protecting Prahlāda, his own devotee. The motive behind this creation seems to have been sectarian rivalry and jealousy.

There are several seals and sealings which depict symbols and devices of more than one religious pantheon together and are suggestive of religious rapprochement. A seal unearthed at Pāṭaliputra[4] has a *triśūla* with sub-

1. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680, no. 24; III, pl. 208, no. 50.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 677, no. 2; III, pl. 207, no. 8.
3. *Supra*, pp. 169-70.
4. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 82, no. 1.

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script *chakra* flanked on the left by a *śaṅkha* and, on right, by a *svastika*. The legend is *Chatrasya*. Another from the same site[1] has a *śaṅkha* in the centre, a *triśūla* and a *chakra* in the upper right corner and a *svastika* in the lower right corner.[2] It bears the legend *Gopalasa* in *circa* first century B. C. characters.

We have already discussed the religious catholicity of certain rulers. Harsha called himself a *parama-māheśvara* and used the bull device for his seal, while Hiuen-tsang described him as a great Buddhist[3]; Vainyagupta is referred to as a *parama-bhāgavata* in a Nalanda sealing and *Bhagavān-Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta* in the Gunaighar inscription, the copper-plate seal of which shows the bull device.[4]

The Bhita sealing of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Śaṅkaradatta shows a bull with a round object between the horns and flanked by a *chakra* on one side and *śrīvatsa*[5] on the other (pl. IX, 3). No. 84 in Spooner's list of Basarh seals shows a humped bull and a *śaṅkha*.[6] A clay sealing from Sunet in the Indian Museum[7] shows, on one side, a *triśūla* and the legend *Mātṛiśarma* in Gupta characters. The other side has a *chakra*. Thus we come across a combination of Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols and a Śākta (?) name. A Sankisa sealing[8] has a *triśūla*, a *śaṅkha* and the legend *Indramitra*. Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols, thus, occur along with the legend after the god Indra.

Some clay lumps showing the combination of (i) the figure of Mahishamardinī, (ii) Brahmā, (iii) horse (denoting *aśvamedha* ritual) and (iv) the legend *Chhandoga* (pl. XXI, 2) suggest rapprochement.[9] Similarly several other *Chhandoga charaṇa* sealings portray legends and devices pertaining to various divinities.[10]

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1. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 82, no. 2.
2. The symbols on the upper and lower left are not clear. Spooner was struck by its resemblance in shape and size with the type of seal which became so popular at a later age. He considered it as the earliest example of this particular type (*ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 79).
3. See *supra*, pp. 94-95.
4. See *supra*, pp. 69-70 fn.
5. It was described as an uncertain symbol by Marshall (*ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 54-55, no. 44), but Banerjea identifies it as *śrīvatsa* (*DHI*, p. 185).
6. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 129, no. 84, pl. XLVI, 84.
7. Indian Museum, no. A 15056-NS4510.
8. Allahabad Museum, no. 223.
9. *Infra* chap. VI.
10. *Ibid.*

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The Rajghat sealings of *Rājan* Abhaya show the figure of a standing bull with the three-arched 'hill symbol' in front, a *chakra*, a *śaṅkha* and a spear (pl. II, 4 and 6). Another Rajghat sealing[1] shows on the obverse a conventionalised *śrīvatsa* and the legend *Bhadrasena* in Gupta characters. The reverse shows three impressions (i) a bull, (ii) the legend *Droṇasya* and (iii) a *chakra*. Several Rajghat sealings[2] show the figure of Garuḍa in the centre, a *yūpa* on the left and a *gadā* on the right (pl. XIX, 9). There is nothing strange about the Vedic and the Vaishṇava symbols being shown together; even some of the *paramabhāgavata* kings of the Gupta dynasty were performers of the horse-sacrifices.

The two Taleshwar copper-plate seals[3] show a bull, a *chakra*,[4] a Garuḍa and a *śaṅkha*.[5] All are surmounted by a hooded cobra. The seals appear to represent both Śaiva (bull and snake)[6] and Vaishṇava (*śaṅkha* and *chakra*) motifs.

Seal no. 764 in Spooner's list[7] is interesting from the point of view of religion and iconography. Spooner describes the device on this seal but leaves the figure (described by him as a female figure) unidentified. According to Banerjea, this is the representation of *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva.[8] His contention is based on the following observations: (i) the left breast of the figure is large and looks like that of a female in proportion to the right (which is male); (ii) the curious head-dress 'like a single high horn' of Spooner's description[9] is in reality the longish coil of *jaṭā*, a characteristic of Śiva images, and is placed on the right (male) part only, (iii) there seems to be an *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature on the front part of the waist, (iv) the figure has a staff in the right hand which again is a feature of some Śiva images.[10]

Sculptural representations of the *Ardhanārīśvara* form are known from

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1. Allahabad Museum, no. 46.
2. E. g. Bharat Kala Bhavan, nos. 18900, and 18906; Allahabad Museum, nos. 114, 116, 117, etc.
3. *EI*, XIII, pp. 109 ff., pls. facing pp. 114 and 115.
4. Gupte identifies it as a fish or tortoise (*ibid.*, p. 109).
5. Gupte does not identify this device.
6. The cobra may also be suggestive of the affiliation with the Nāga cult which is still very popular in the Kumaon region.
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 152, pl. L.
8. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 181.
9. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 152.
10. The legend on this seal has been tentatively read by Spooner as *Tipurakshashashṭhidattaḥ*.

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the Kushāṇa period onwards. The union of the great god and goddess was considered necessary not only for creation, but also for the destruction of the Asuras as is clear from the story of *Kumārasambhava* relating to the birth of Kārttikeya. The idea of the Complete Union of Śiva and Śakti is often beautifully reflected in literature.[1]

We may also refer to a Basarh sealing (pl. XIV, 2) and a Rajghat sealing (pl. XVII, 3) representing a *liṅga* on a *yonipīṭha* symbolising male and female energies which permeate and sustain the life of the Universe. "*Liṅgam* and *yoni*, Śiva and his goddess symbolise the antagonistic yet co-operative forces of the sexes. They are the archetypal parents Father and Mother of the world".[2]

A nicolo seal[3] (pl. IX, 6) shows a chief standing in respectful pose before a four-armed god. According to Ghirshman, the inscription gives the name of Mihira, Vishṇu and Śiva in Tocharian script.[4] The deity holds a *chakra*, an object identified by Banerjea as a club, which is sometimes shown in one of the hands of Śiva figures, and a ring and a globular object. The first attribute is Vaishṇava, the second may be connected with Śiva and the last two with Mihira, the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Sun-god.[5] In passing, reference may be made to a coin of Huvishka showing ithyphallic Śiva with a *chakra* in one of his hands suggesting that Śaiva-Vaishṇava syncretism had begun in the Kushāṇa period.[6]

The best glyptic examples of religious harmony between the Śaivites and Vaishṇavites are the various seal impressions from Sunet bearing the legend *Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇābhyāṁ* on one side and the name of an individual coupled with a symbol or two on the other side (pl. XV, 3)[7] In one case the reverse

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1. Nandikeśvara while denying the separate existence of Śiva from Śakti, cites two analogies of the moon and the light, and of language and meaning (*Chandra-Chandrika-yoryadvad yathā vāgarthayoriva* (*N. K.*, V. 11), *vide* Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, Vol. III, pp. CLXXXIII and 270. The second of these analogies is also to be met with in the opening verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (*Vāgarthāviva sampṛiktau....Pārvatī Parameśvarau*). As a contrast, we may refer to the legend of Bhṛiṅgī Ṛishi who would worship none else but Śiva and as such refused to pay homage to the *Ardhanārīśvara* form as it would make him bow down to the goddess part of it as well (See Rao, *EHI*, pp. 322-23).
2. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 127.
3. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 123-25, pl. XI, 2.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
7. More than two dozen such sealings are in the Indian Museum; no. A12850-NS4651 has *Śri Mātṛisoma*; no. A12849-NS4650 *Śrī Vishṇudāsasya*; nos. A12848-NS4640 and A12851-

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does not bear any device (pl. XV, 5). These sealings were perhaps votive offerings to a temple dedicated to both Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa. The icon enshrined in this temple may have been Hari-Hara type.

A clay sealing from the same site in the Indian Museum[1] shows the device of a *triśūla* and a *chakra* in the upper field and the legend *Śrī-dvipārshadasya* in Gupta characters (pl. XXI, 7). The term *Dvipārshada* here stands for the *triśūla* and *chakra*, the weapons of the divinities Śiva and Vishṇu respectively.[2] The sealing perhaps belonged to a combined Śiva and Vishṇu temple at Sunet, the existence of which is borne out by tokens bearing the legend *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇābhyāṁ* referred to above.

Quite interesting is a seal[3] with four faces showing variously (i) standing nude Śiva holding a *triśūla* and a club, (ii) a male and a female figure—probably 'paired divinities', (iii) an Indo-Scythian chief sacrificing over an altar and (iv) Herakles standing, holding a club and the pelt of Nemean lion in right and left hands respectively. Ascribable to the fifth century A. D. on stylistic grounds, the seal is a remarkable evidence of cult syncretism.

General observations on Brahmanical seals

The figures and symbols represented on our seals and sealings are, in general, not of the once mighty Vedic gods like Indra, Mitra, Agni or Varuṇa but of gods of the popular Hindu pantheon. The worship of some of the Vedic gods was discarded ; others were relegated to subordinate positions—their remembrance now being restricted once or twice a year at the time of the performance of sacrifices and certain other rituals. They had lost that common appeal which was subsequently gained by the deities like Śiva and Vishṇu. A few kings and individuals, no doubt, depicted the *yūpa* symbol sometimes alone and elsewhere in association with the horse or the bull, symbolic of their power and prestige and in keeping with the performance of Vedic sacrifices, but the masses in general preferred to use common Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols such as the *triśūla, nandī, śaṅkha, chakra, liṅga śrīvatsa, nandipada*, etc. It was a "neo-Brahmanism, sturdy and vigorous in action,

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NS4652 have *Mānyaḥ*. See also Allahabad Museum nos. 266, 271 and 292 ; *PASB*, 1884, p. 137 ; *JRAS*, 1901, p. 58, nos. 1-2, pl. facing p. 98, bearing on the other side the legends *Śrī Vishṇudāsasya* and *Mānyaḥ* respectively.

1. Indian Museum, no. A2823-NS4624.
2. *Pārshada* means 'an associate, companion, attendant (esp. of god)' (Monier-William's, *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary, s. v. pārshada*).
3. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushāṇas*, p. 103, no. 6.

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robust and virile in imagination, fertile in creation and comprehensively ethnic in origin"[1] that was destined to be the popular religion of the people.

The symbols of the deities have more frequently been represented on seals and sealings than their figures. As in Buddhist art, the glyptics demonstrate the prevalence of aniconism alongside iconism.[2] The symbols, in the forms of *āyudhas*, *vāhanas* and *chihnas*, stand as 'conductors between the image and its idea'.

Very few seals and sealings show deities riding *vāhanas* which generally served the same purpose in relation to the deity as a determinant to pictograph. We have, as already noticed, examples of Śiva and Pārvatī riding the bull, of Durgā seated on the lion and of Vishṇu riding the Garuḍa. The multiplicity of limbs, indicative of supramundane powers and manifold activities of the deity or deities in Indian god-concept, that became a popular feature of medieval Indian art, is rarely met with on our seals and sealings. Brahmā alone is represented as three-headed and only a few sealings depict the deities with more than two arms.

Concluding, we notice that the seals and sealings throw welcome light on the religious beliefs and practices of the people during the period under review. As interesting iconographic specimens, they not only represent gods and goddesses eliciting homage from the masses but also reveal the under-currents of religious feelings, even those of jealousy and animosity between the various sects and creeds along with occasional attempts at rapproachement.

SECTION VI

BUDDHIST SEALS

Buddhism, one of the principal religions of India and a one-time builder of Asian unity, inspired its adherents to fall in line with Hinduism in so far as the making and use of glyptics are concerned. Many of these belong to the various *vihāras* or monastic establishments dotted all over the country. Some bear the famous Buddhist creed-formula and not an inconsiderable number is important from the iconographic points of view.

Haimavatas

A clay seal unearthed during excavations at Sankisa bears in Kushāṇa

1. Ray in *Classical Age*, p. 536.
2. In Buddhist art the symbols that earlier represented the Buddha were later on retained as his specific designations with the introduction of his anthropomorphic representation.

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characters the legend *Ayana Haimavatana* (Skt. *Āryāṇām Haimavatānāṁ*), '[seal] of the venerable Haimavatas'.[1] The Haimavatas were Hīnayānists.[2] The school had its stronghold at Vidiśā.[3] As its very name indicates, it had its origins in the Himalayan regions. The seal was found amidst burnt ashes and charcoal indicating that the place was destroyed by fire. It would, however, be too much to attribute this to a case of arson due to religious bigotism during the reign of Kanishka, who championed Mahāyānism.

Mahārāja-Rudrasena-vihāra

A clay sealing from Intwa[4] (on a hill about three miles from Junagarh, Saurashtra) bears a *chaitya* symbol in the centre and, along the margin, a legend running the entire course in Brāhmī characters which reads:

Mahārāja-Rudrasena-vihāre bhikshu saṁghasya

'[Seal] of the congregation of the friars at the *Mahārāja* Rudrasena Monastery.' Obviously, the monastery owed its existence to the munificence of *Mahārāja* Rudrasena, perhaps Rudrasena I (*circa* 199-222 A. D.) of the dynasty of Chashṭana.[5]

Mūlagandhakuṭī at Saddharmachakra

A good many Buddhist establishments existed at Sarnath, the site haloed by the first 'Turning of the wheel of Law,' by 'the Great Teacher'. Numerous sealings from this site bear references to the '*Mūlagandhakuṭī* of the Holy One in the *Saddharmachakra*.' Most of them have the 'wheel and deer' device which was symbolic of Buddha's turning the 'Wheel of Law' at the Deer Park, Ṛishipattana (Sarnath). The legend, however, is differently arranged and, sometimes, partly out of the flan (pl. XXIII, 1). Thus we have:

A. 1. *Śrī-Saddharmmachakkre Mū-*
2. *lagandha-kuṭyāṁ Bhaga-*
3. *vata* [*ḥ*][6]

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1. *JUPHS*, III (iii), p. 108.
2. At the time of the Second Buddhist Council the *saṅgha* for the first time was divided into *Mahāsāṅghikas* and *Sthaviravādins*. Haimavata was a branch of the latter.
3. The Sonari *Stūpa* inscriptions of Bhilsa refer to this school and its apostle, Dundubhisāra. Other inscriptions from the same region record the names of two other teachers of the same school—Kaśyapagotra and Gauptīputra (Gotiputa). See *Comp. Hist. of Ind.*, p. 369.
4. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 174-75 and plate facing p. 174.
5. *Ibid.*
6. In *circa* seventh century characters. See *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 97; Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 308, no. f(d)5.

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B. 1. *Śrī-Saddha[rmmacha]kkre*
2. *Śrī-Mūlagandha-*
3. *[ku]ṭyāṁ bhaga[vato]*[1]
4. .....

C. 1. *Śrī-Saddharmmachakkre*
2. *Mūlagandha-kuṭyāṁ bhaga..*[2]

Saddharmachakra was an appropriate appellation of the site Sarnath, where the Master turned the Wheel of Law (*dharmachakra-pravartana*) for the first time. The seals show that it was known by that name at least as early as the sixth or seventh century A. D., though probably it had a remoter antiquity. It was known by the same name as late as the time of the Gāhaḍavāla king, Govindachandra.

The chance-finding of lamp-posts with *mūlagandhakuṭī* inscribed on them pin-points its location[3] and shows that, as a sacred tradition, the lamps were kept burning at that spot.

It appears that a private chamber devoted to the Buddha's personal use was named *gandhakuṭī* ('hall of fragrance'). Perhaps such chambers were originally supposed to exude fragrance[4] as a result of the Buddha's contact; later, perfumes were burnt in these chambers to honour the memory of the Great Master. Marshall and Konow suggest that it was probably a chapel dedicated to the memory of the Buddha with or without His image and, later, supposed to have been once occupied by the Buddha.[5] I-tsing refers to rules which had to be observed while approaching a *gandhakuṭī*.[6] The representation of a *gandhakuṭī* at Jetavana occurs in a Bharhut sculpture.[7]

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1. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 127. The characters are similar to the above-mentioned one.
2. Indian Museum, no. A15025-NS9520.
3. The lamp-posts have been found to the east of the main shrine and this, perhaps was the place where *Mūlagandhakuṭī* was situated. Perhaps it was the same place where Hiuen-tsang saw a colossal statue of the Buddha (*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 98).
4. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraja, however, writes about a modern sage whose body exuded fragrance and opines that *gandhakuṭīs* were so called as these were filled with fragrance emitted by the body of the Buddha (*Bhāratīya Saṁskṛiti aur Śādhanā*, p. 123).
5. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 98.
6. Takakusu, *Records of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and Malaya Archipelago*, p. 22. He says, 'it has long been proclaimed that a priest must never approach a temple (lit. *gandhakuṭī*) with his slippers on'. See also *ibid.*, pp. 123 and 155.
7. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 87, pl. LVII.

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The Sarnath *gandhakuṭī* was styled as *mūlagandhakuṭī*, perhaps because it was supposed to be the first one occupied by the Lord.[1]

The Bhikshu-saṅgha at Saddharmachakra

A seal from Sarnath with the wheel-and-deer symbol bears a partly lost and indistinct legend:

1. *Śrī-Saddharma(chakkre)*
2. *(bhikshu) sa(ṅghasya)*

in *circa* fifth or sixth century A. D. characters.[2] This seal belonged to the congregation of monks at Sarnath.

Two sealings from Rajghat bearing wheel-and-deer device and the legends *Śrī-Dharmachakre*[3] and *Saddharmachakra*[4] respectively also belonged to the monastery at Sarnath.

Ghoshitārāma-mahāvihāra

A sealing from Kauśāmbī in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University, bears the device of a *chakra* flanked by a deer on either side and the following legend in Gupta characters:

(i) *Kauśāmbyāṁ Ghoshitārāma-ma(hā)-*

(ii) *vihāre bhikshu-saṅghasya*

'[Seal] of the congregation of monks in the Ghoshitārāma *mahāvihāra* at Kauśāmbī' (pl. XXII, 4).[5] Another Kauśāmbī sealing bearing the Gajalakshmī device has a similar legend, though badly mutilated. It has another impression (at right angles to the aforesaid legend) bearing the legend *Toramāṇa* counterstruck over the seal-impression of the monastery (pl. XXII, 2).

The Ghoshitārāma monastery was founded by *Śreshṭhī* Ghoshita and named after him.[6] The *ārāma* was closely associated with the Buddha[7] and his disciples.[8] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (101-77 B. C.) thirty thousand monks from this *ārāma* visited

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1. Marshall and Konow are of opinion that the term *Mūlagandhakuṭī* suggests that there also existed other *gandhakuṭīs* at Sarnath (*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 99).
2. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, p. 91.
3. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 409.
4. Allahabad Museum, no. 58.
5. See also Sharma, *ABIA*, XVI, p. XLIV.
6. *Dīgha*, I, 157, 159; *Saṁyutta*, II, 115.
7. *Vinaya*, II, p. 184.
8. See e. g. *Saṁyutta*, III, 133ff.; *ibid.*, V. 76-77.

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Ceylon.[1] The monastery was visited by Fa-hien in the early fifth century according to whom monks, mostly of the Lesser Vehicle, tenanted it.[2] Its discovery in the south-eastern corner of Kauśāmbī[3] agrees with the description of Hiuen-tsang[4] regarding its location. Archaeological evidence showing the continued existence of this monastery from *circa* sixth century B. C. to *circa* sixth century A. D.[5] is an excellent corroboration of the literary evidence. The sealing bearing the legend *Toramāṇa* restruck on that of the Ghoshitārāma monastery and another bearing the legend *Hūṇarāja* suggest its destruction at the hands of that Hūṇa king which fact is corroborated by the debris found in the course of excavations there.[6] It was already in ruins when Hiuen-tsang visited the place.[7] Earlier Fa-hien had seen it peopled by the followers of the Hīnayāna sect.[8]

Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāra

Kasia, the place of the Buddha's demise, has yielded many monastic seals and sealings aptly qualified with the words 'the Great Decease' (*Mahāparinirvāṇa*) ranging from early Gupta to mediaeval times. We submit below only those which come under the period of our review.

Serial no.	Device	*Legend*
1	Wheel-and-deer	*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-bhikshu-saṅgha.*[9]
2	do	*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāvihārīyārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya.*[10]
3	do	The same as no. 2 with the exception that it has *vihārīyārya* instead of *mahāvihārīyārya.*[11]
4	Coffin between two *śāla* trees	*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihārīyārya-bhikshu-saṅgha.*[12]

1. *Mahāvaṁsa* (PTS), Chap. 29, p. 228.
2. Legge, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, p. 96. He refers to it as 'Gochiravana'.
3. Sharma, *ABIA*, XVI, p. XLI.
4. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 236.
5. Sharma, *ABIA*, XVI. p. XLIII.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, pp. 365-66.
8. Legge, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, p. 96.
9. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 136 ; *ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 71, no. 2.
10. *Ibid.*, 1905-06, p. 84, no. 9 ; *ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 71, no. 3 ; *ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 63, no 9.
11. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 84, no. 12 ; *ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 63, nos. 7 and 10.
12. *Ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 71, no. 4.

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5	Coffin between two *śāla* trees	The same as no. 1 above with the exception that it ends in *saṅghasya*.[1]
6	do	*Mahāparinirvāne(ṇe)chaturdiśo bhikshu-saṅghaḥ*.[2]
7	Indistinct	The same as no. 4 above.[3]
8	Device lost	The same as no. 4 above but the legend seems to have ended in *sya*.[4]
9	Human figure and an indistinct object	*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāra-bhikshusaṅghasya*.[5]
10	Indistinct	The same as no. 4 except that it has *vihāra-ārya* instead of *vihāra*.[6]
11	Hārītī with her children	*Mahāparinirvāṇa* (written partly above and partly below the effigies).[7]

Though all these monastic seals from Kasia refer to the 'Great Decease' (*Mahāparinirvāṇa*),[8] there is difference in the legends on them. It is difficult to determine whether they belonged to different monasteries or were variants of the name of one and the same monastery. The connotation *chāturdiśa*, 'four quarters', may indicate that it was inhabited by monks hailing from various parts of India and even by pilgrims from foreign countries. It cannot be definitely asserted whether the *mahāvihāra* was distinguished from any ordinary *vihāra* because of its being directly under the aegis of the chief priest. If the connotation *ārya* ('noble') has any significance, it would mean that certain monasteries were exclusively inhabited by senior monks. Of number 10 (above), which shows Hārītī with her children on one side, two speciemens were found deposited in a pot containing ashes. From the circumstances of the find, Sastri suggests that there was a shrine dedicated to that goddess in the Gupta period.[9] Fa-hien saw many monasteries at

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1. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 7, no. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, 1905-06, p. 83, no. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 63, no. 8.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 62, no. 6.
6. *Ibid.*, 1905-06, p. 84, no. 7.
7. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 135, pl. LXIV, fig. 3.
8. Cf. 'There is a great *vihāra* here [i. e. at Kuśīnārā], built of bricks, within which is a figure of the *Nirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata' (Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 97).
9. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 135.

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this place.[1] However, during the visit of Hiuen-tsang, the buildings were mostly in dilapidated condition.[2]

The Saṅgha at Makuṭabandha

A clay tablet from the same site bearing the legend *Makuṭabandhe saṁgha* ('the congregation at the sacred Coronation Hall') in the lower half in *circa* fourth or fifth century characters shows, in the upper half, a flaming pyre with a kneeling figure on one side and an indistinct object on the other.[3] *Makuṭabandha* was the traditionally haloed place where the Malla chiefs were crowned.

Bandhana-mahāvihāra

Another clay seal has the 'wheel-and-deer' symbol and the three-lined following legend :

1. *Śrī Bandhana-mahāvihā-*
2. *re Ārya-bhikshu-saṁ-*
3. *ghasya*[4]

'[Seal] of the revered *bhikshu-saṅgha* in the great monastery of Śrī Bandhana'. Bandhana, obviously, refers to the same as Makuṭabandhana in an abbreviated form.

Vishṇudvīpa-vihāra

A Kasia clay die,[5] with a pierced handle, shows, in the upper half, a tree within an enclosure flanked by two indistinct objects and, in the lower, a two-lined legend :

1. *Śrī-Vishṇudvīpa-vihāre*
2. *bhikshu-saṅghasya*

'[Seal] of the community of monks at the monastery of Śrī-Vishṇudvīpa'.

Eraṇḍa-mahāvihāra

One complete specimen and eight fragmentary impressions of a seal belonging to the revered *bhikshu-saṅgha* of the monastery at *Eraṇḍa* have come

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1. Giles, *Travels of Fa-hsien*, pp. 40-41.
2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 28.
3. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 83, no. 2.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 8.
5. *Ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 62, no. 5.

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to light. No monastery of this name is known from any other source.[1] These show the wheel-and-deer symbol and the following two-lined legend:

1. *Śrīmad-Eraṇḍa-mahāvihārī-*
2. *yāya-bhikshu-saṅghasya.*[2]

Palaṅa saṅgha

A clay matrix from Pāṭaliputra[3] bears the following three-lined legend in Kushāṇa characters:

1. *Dighavata*
2. *Palama*
3. *sa(ṁ)ghasa*

'[Seal] of the Palama congregation of Dighavata (Sanskrit Dīrghavat)'.[4] There is no device.

Nālandā-mahāvihāra

Seals and sealings of the great monastery (*mahāvihāra*) at Nalanda have been found in quite a large number, Monastery No. 9 alone yielding 690 in one chamber.[5] These seal-impressions occur either alone or in association with other seals. Most of them belong to the late mediaeval times and are beyond the scope of the present study. A few of them bearing legends in *circa* sixth or seventh century A. D. characters merit description here. No. S. I, 848[6] is a fragmentary sealing with a groove-like hole pierced right through and bears the *dharmachakra* symbol with the following legend in Gupta characters:

1. .. *[ndā]yāṁ Śrī-Śakrāditya-kārita*
2. .. *hāre chaturddiśīyārya-mā(ma)hā*
3. .. *bhikshu-saṅghasya*

It shows that Śakrāditya 'set up' something (not clear due to the

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1. Whether Eraṇḍa stands for plant or designates some locality, is not clear (*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 58). Cf. however, Eraṇḍapalla of the Allahabad Pillar Ins. (*CII*, III, no. 1, p. 79, line 9).
2. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 63, no. 11.
3. *Ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 83, no. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, *Palama*, however, may also be *parama* ('great') in which case it would be a connotation of the *vihāra*.
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 36.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 38, pl. II, e.

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fragmentary character of the sealing) which was connected with the great *bhikshu* community of the four quarters. Hiuen-tsang mentions Śakrāditya as one of the kings who patronised the great monastery at Nalanda.[1] He has generally been identified with Kumāragupta I, of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.[2] No. S. I, 348 shows two impressions[3] of which one, with the *dharmachakra* device, has the legend as per below:

1. *Śrī-Nālandā-mahāvihāre chā-*
2. *turddiśārya-bhikshu-saṅgha-*
3. *sya*

The *Chāturdiśa-āṛya-bhikshu-saṅgha* sealings have been found in large numbers either impressed alone or along with other legends and devices. A clay lump from the same site has two different impressions, one (S. 1A, 442; S. 9,75)[4] of which shows the wheel-and-deer symbol with the legend identical with the preceding one. The other impression is that of a *grāma* seal.

Śivapura mahāvihāra

A sealing from Nalanda has a *dharmachakra* symbol and the two-lined legend :

1. *Śrī-prathama Śivapura-mahā-*
2. *vihārīy*[*ārya*] *bhikshu saṅgha*[5]

'[Seal] of the venerable community of monks of the first (earliest?) monastery of Śivapura'.

Bhishaka-vihāra and Ārogya-vihāra

A Rajghat sealing with the legend *Bhishaka-vihāre therasa bhikhusaghasa* (pl. XXIII, 2)[6] testifies to the existence of a *Sthaviravādī vihāra*, in all pro-

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1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 164-65.
2. Mookerji, *Gupta Empire*, pp. 72-73; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 570; for the opinion that he was Kumāragupta II, see Sinha, *DKM*, p. 69.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 41, pl. III, f. The other impression has the legend *Pādapāggrāmasya* and the device of a *stūpa*-like symbol flanked by a tree.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 39, pl. III, b.
5. Two specimens of this are known (*MASI*, 66, p. 44, no. S. 1, 1006, pl. IV, (d). Cf. the legend *Śrī-Ratnagiri-mahāvihārīyārya-bhikshu-saṁghasya* on a number of terracotta sealings from Ratnagiri (Orissa), palaeographically datable to a period later than that covered by us (*IAR*, 1958-59, p. 36, pl. XLVIIIA).
6. See also *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 409.

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bability, at Sarnath. The connotation *Bhishaka-vihāra* reminds us of *Ārogya-vihāra* on a sealing found at Kumrahar. The latter shows, in the upper half, a tree, most probably the *Bodhivṛiksha*, with a *śaṅkha* on either side and, in the lower half, a two-line legend in Gupta characters reading :

1. *Śrī-Ārogyavihāre bhi-*
2. *kshu-saṁghasya* [1](pl. XXIII, 3).

'[Seal] of the monastic community in sanatorium-monastery.'[2] The Rajghat sealing obviously belonged to a monastery which served as a hospital for monks of the *Sthaviravāda* sect whereas the *Ārogya-vihāra* (at Kumrahar) was a monastery-cum-sanatorium where *bhikshus*, irrespective of their sects, could stay and regain health.

Dvaitavanārāma-mahāvihāra

A sealing of unknown provenance in the Lucknow Museum[3] has a *dharmachakra* on a pedestal in the centre and is flanked by a deer on either side. The legend, in Gupta characters, reads :

1. *Śrī Dveṭavan(ā)r(ā)ma mahā*
2. *vihāra-bhikshu-saṅghasya*[4]

'[Seal] of the congregation of monks of Śrī Dvaitavanārāma' (pl. XXII, 5).

Raktamṛittikā-mahāvihāra

A sealing from Rajbadidanga, a mound in the Rangamati area, Murshidabad District, shows a *dharmachakra* flanked by a deer on either side and the legend in characters of the seventh or eighth century A. D :

1. *Śrī-Rakta* [*m*]*ṛittikā-mahāvihā-*
2. *rikārya-bhikshu-*[*Saṅgha*]*sya.*[5]

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1. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 103, pl XXXII, no. 5. The sealing comes from period IV-V (*c.* 300 to 600 A. D.), (*ibid.*).
2. *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that the legend (*Ā*)*rogyavihāre* occurs on a potsherd from the same site (*ibid.*, p. 107, pl. XXXV, 4).
3. No. S. 627.
4. This, in all probability, is the one referred to by Vogel in *ASIAR*, 1906-07, pp. 58-59. He, however, remarks : 'the reading is uncertain owing to the letters being partly, defaced' (*ibid.*, p. 59). The possibility of the reading *Śrīrddeva van*(*ā*)*r*(*ā*)*ma*—cannot be excluded. In this connection, we may refer to a seal from Pakna Bihar bearing the legend *Devārāma Saghasa* (Cunningham, *ASIR*, XI, p. 37, no. 9, pl. XII). One is tempted to read the legend as *Śrī-Jetavanārāma.*
5. Sircar, *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 25-28.

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'[Seal] of the community of the noble monks of the Great Monastery of the illustrious Raktamṛittikā'.[1]

Hiuen-tsang, who stayed in India between A. D. 629-44, makes a reference to the great Buddhist monastery by the side of Karṇasuvarṇa, which seems to allude to the Raktamṛittikā monastery.[2] According to him, there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries in Karṇasuvarṇa with about two thousand Buddhist monks who were followers of the Sammitiya school.[3] In an inscription from the Malaya peninsula Raktamṛittikā has been mentioned as the home of the Buddhist *Mahānāvika* named Budhagupta.[4] The sealing has finally settled the long debated issue of the location of Raktamṛittikā which is the same as Rangamati.[5]

Scene of Buddha's descent from the Trayastriṁśa heaven

A terracotta seal from Pakna Bihar (near Sankisa) shows a flight of steps in the middle leading down from a platform surrounded by a railing. There is a single letter in the Gupta alphabet over each flight of steps.[6] On the left, Cunningham reads *bra* for Brahmā, in the middle, *bu* for Buddha and, on the right, *sa* for Sakka (Śakra).[7] The device seems to depict the descent of the Buddha from the *Trayastriṁśa* heavens accompanied by Brahmā and Śakra. The *Sarabhamiga Jātaka*[6] gives the traditional account of the Descent and the scene has also been depicted in sculptures.[8]

Buddhist formula 'ye dharmā hetu. . . .'

Many seals and sealings from various sites bear the Buddhist creed formula:

Ye dharmāhetu prabhavaḥ hetuṁ teshāṁ tathāgato hyavadata teshāṁ cha yo nirodho evaṁ vādi mahāśramaṇaḥ[9]

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1. *EI*, XXXVII, p. 28.
2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 191-92.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 192; Sircar, *EI*, XXXVII, p. 25 fn.
4. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 497.
5. For details, see Sircar, *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 24-26.
6. *ASR*, XI, p. 36, no. 7, pl. XII. The seal, which is not in a good condition, had a coating of blue glaze traces of which were noticed by Cunningham (*ibid.*).
7. *Jātaka* no. 483.
8. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, pl. XXVIII, 4.
9. This is generally the form of the text and although, in some cases, minor variations are also to be noticed, the basic sense remains the same. In the *Vinayapiṭaka* (I, p. 40) the formula occurs as—*ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṁ hetuṁ tathāgato āha tesañcha yo nirodho evaṁvādi mahāsamaṇo'ti.*

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"Of all the things that proceed from a cause,
the Buddha the cause hath told,
and he tells too how such shall come to its end,
such alone is the word of the sage."[1]

According to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the formula was pronounced by Assaji, one of the earliest followers of the Buddha, to Sāripputta Upatissa, when the latter queried the former about his teacher and his doctrines.[2]

The formula came to occupy a position of great importance in the Buddhist faith, as attested by I-tsing who places it on a par with the bodily relics of the Buddha[3] and records that the placing of these two in the *chaityas* would bring abundance of blessings.[4]

Apart from being placed in *chaityas*, tablets bearing the creed formula were also given as votive offerings to shrines; some of them were returned to the offerer and brought to their homes where sometimes they were enshrined in village chapels or kept as mementoes.

The formula occurs on seals belonging to this period and also on those of the later period. Those within out perview have been acquired from various sites, Shah ji ki Dheri,[5] Sanchi,[6] Bhita,[7] Rajghat,[8] (pl. XXII, no. 3), Sarnath,[9] Mirpur Khas,[10] etc.

Some of the Mirpur Khas ones show the Buddha in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* seated in the *pralambapāda āsana*.[11] Others depict him in the *bhūmisparśa-*

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1. For this translation, see Agrawala, *Sarnath*, p. 26 fn.
2. *Vinaya-piṭaka*, I, p. 40.
3. Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, p. 151.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 151. We have evidence of its use even in Buddhist countries outside India, e.g., in Burma (Maunggun Gold-plate Inscription, *c.* 6th cent. A. D., Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 493); in Malaya (Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Budhagupta, *Ibid.*, p. 497).
5. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 31. The script is of late Gupta period.
6. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State*, p. 58, no. C 809.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 24, pl. XVIII, 24 (forty-five impressions).
8. The one illustrated here is Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6322.
9. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 312, no. F(d) 39-50; *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 90-91; *ibid.*, 1907-08, p. 53.
10. *ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 88, pl. XXXIX.
11. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX, d. These tablets have been dated palaeographically to c. 7th or 8th century A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 88).

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mudrā,[1] while still others bear several miniature *stūpas*.[2]

On a clay tablet from Sahet Mahet[3] the formula appears in *circa* fifth or sixt century A. D. characters below the device showing the Buddha seated in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* on a conventional lotus with Bodhisattvas standing on either side. There is a kneeling figure to the proper right of the formula and a woman and a child to the proper left. The border on the remaining sides consists of eleven miniature *stūpas* in relief with garlands hanging down from their tops.

A Sarnath seal-die of baked clay shows a row of three *stūpas* adorned with streamers in the upper half. The lower portion contains the creed-formula in Gupta characters.[4] Thirteen tablets impressed from the same die and bearing similar device and legend in seventh century characters have been noticed by Sahni.[5] A sealing excavated from the same site shows, in the upper field, a *stūpa* with a Buddha figure seated in a niche, flanked by an attendant on lotus (probably a Bodhisattva) on either side. Below, occurs the motto (pl. XXII, 1).[6]

A Nalanda sealing has a decorated *stūpa* in the upper field and the aforesaid motto below (pl. XXIII, 5). Saidpur (Sind) has yielded five tablets showing the Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā* and one tablet representing him in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* on lotus; below the main device, in each case, is the Buddhist formula along with elongated miniature *stūpas* on both sides.[7]

Many clay lumps from Sanchi bear two impressions. One of these shows the Buddhist creed alone while the other has the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* with miniature *stūpas* to his right and the formula in *circa* seventh century A. D. characters.[8] Still another has the Buddha seated on *padmāsana* in the *varada-mudrā* and, on either side of him, the formula in sixth or seventh century A. D. characters.[9] The legend in similar characters is impressed twice, once independently and again with the Buddha on lotus

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1. *ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 88. One specimen is illustrated on pl. XXXIX, e, where the Buddha is seated on a lotus in *padmāsana*. There are miniature *stūpas* on either side, a *chhatra* is shown over the head. A few *pīpal* leaves, as part of foliage, near the head, indicate that the scene refers to the Buddha sitting under the Bodhi tree.
2. *Ibid.*, 1909-10, p. 88, pl. XXXIX, nos. a, b and c.
3. *ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 128, no. S. 36.
4. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 307, no. f (d) 1.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 312, no. f (d) 39-50.
6. Cf. *ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 73, no. B. 70.
7. *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 94.
8. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 22.
9. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State*, p. 58, no. *c*. 809.

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throne in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* on fifty-seven fragmentary terracotta plaques.[1] The Rajghat clay sealing illustrated here (pl. XXII, 3) shows that, sometimes, utmost care was taken in writing the formula neatly and artistically.

A sealing recently acquired from Jajmau, District Kanpur, and now in the Uttar Pradesh State Archaeological Department, Lucknow, likewise, shows the formula in neatly written letters of the Gupta period. Above the legend is a central *stūpa* flanked by a smaller one on either side. There is a snake between the left and the central *stūpas* and perhaps the zig-zag line between the central and the right *stūpas* also stands for the same. Below the legend is a half-rising sun or a floral design. The presence of the snake (or snakes) is suggestive of Nāga associations as they are known to be guardians of the *stūpas*.[2]

The introduction of this formula containing the essence of Buddhism on the seals was perhaps motivated by a bid to propagate and popularise that religion. The sealings bearing the formula outnumber any types of these found in India, and range widely in time and provenance. All such specimens come from the Gupta and post-Gupta times when Buddhism was already on its way to decline in India. The Buddhists were fighting a losing battle against the all-absorbing neo-Brahmanism, which, by then, had claimed even the Buddha as one of the incarnations of Vishṇu.

Ashṭavṛiddha and Āryāshṭavṛiddha

Three dies found at Kasia[3] bear the legend *Āryāshṭavṛiddhai*.[4] Cunningham found one seal at Pakna Bihar bearing the legend *Ashṭavṛiddha*.[5] A terracotta seal-die and a clay sealing of unknown provenance, bearing the legend *Āryāshṭavṛiddha* can be viewed in the Lucknow Museum. They show the device of a tree flanked by a *śaṅkha* on either side (pl. XXIX, 6).[6] A sealing in the same collection shows six horizontal lines one above the other at regular intervals on an altar and the legend *Ashṭavṛid[dh]a* (pl.

1. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at sanchi, Bhopal State*, p. 58, nos. C 752-808, pl. XVIII, C 768-69.
2. Cf. the story of the *stūpa* of Rāmagrāma protected by the Nāgas (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 380).
3. Two were found in 1905-06 excavations (*ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 83), and one in the following year (*ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 62).
4. This is Vogel's reading (*ibid.*, 1906-07 pp. 60, 62). Fleet proposed to read the first letter as *i* or ī (*ibid.*, p. 60).
5. *ASR*, XI, p. 36, pl. XII, no. 4.
6. The one illustrated is Lucknow Museum, no. S. 86.

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XXIX, 5).[1] Since Kasia and Pakna Bihar have yielded Buddhistic materials, the seals may be taken to be of the Buddhist origin.

Vogel amended the legend on Kasia seals into *Āryāshṭavṛiddhyai* and interpreted the 'Noble Eight, to refer to eight principal places of pilgrimage'.[2] The other interpretations could be that it refers to the eight *stūpas* which were erected to encase the relics of the Buddha shortly after the cremation of his body, or that it refers to the 'Eight-fold Path' (*ashṭāṅgikamārga*) of the Buddha.[3]

We, however, prefer to interpret the legend as referring to the 'Noble Eight Elders', the seal being of a committee of eight senior monks.[4] In this connection, it may be mentioned that three of the Nalanda sealings belonged to *vṛiddha-bhikshus* ('elderly monks')[5] and that Harvan of Kashmir (near Shrinagar) has been plausibly identified with ancient *Shaḍarhadvana*, i.e., 'the grove of the six Buddhist monks.'[6]

Other Buddhist seals

A sealing from Kumrahar[7] from the level ascribable to the Gupta period[8] shows the typically Buddhist device of 'wheel and deer' and the legend *Sarvasya saṁbhūti*.[9] The expression seems to convey the same sense as *sarva-hita-*

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1. Lucknow Museum, no. S. 595.
2. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 60. Recently, a reading of one of the Lucknow Museum sealings has been given as [*Āryā*]*shṭavṛiddhe*[*ḥ*] (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1957-58*, p. 89, no. 85) which would suggest that the seals and sealings belonged to one, named *Āryāshṭavṛiddhi*. The reading of the other has been given as [*sa*]*ryāshṭa-vṛidhai*(*ddheḥ*) (*ibid.*, p. 89, no. 86), which, however, does not seem to be the case.
3. The legend would serve as a constant reminder to the Buddhist devotees and pilgrims of the path prescribed by the Buddha for the cessation of all sufferings. The prefix *ārya* would be very appropriate for the *ashṭāṅgikamārga*, which is one of the four *ārya satyāni*.

   Jainism also has *ashṭamaṅgalas—svastika*, mirror, urn, a cane-seat shaped like an hour-glass, two small fish, flower, garland and a book; cf. also *ashṭabudhiguṇas* of the Jainas—

   Suśrūshā śravaṇaṁ chaiva grahṇaṁ dhāraṇaṁ tathā,
   ūhopoho'rtha oijñānṁ tattvajñānañcha dhī guṇaḥ.
4. Prof. C. D. Chatterjee and Dr. Chhabra (in verbal communication) favour the last-mentioned interpretation. Cf. also *ashṭakulādhikaraṇa* in Dhanaidaha Cop. pl. Ins. of the time of Kumāragupta I, G. E., 113 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 287 ff. at p. 288).
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 40, no. S. I. R. 15 and *ibid.*, p. 44, nos. S. 1, 411, 412.
6. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 455.
7. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 104, no. 16, pl. XXXII, no. 6.
8. From period IV-V dated to *circa* 300-600 A.D. (*ibid.*).
9. The possibility of another reading *Sarvasya sukṛiti* has also been suggested (*ibid.*, fn.).

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sukhāya found in several Buddhist epigraphs. A sealing from the same site bears the device of a *chakra* and the legend *Dharma* in Gupta characters.[1] We may also refer to a circular sealing from Sirkap, Taxila bearing the Kharoshṭhī legend *Atavihare Mudrasatasa* ([Seal] of Mudrasata in his own *vihāra*).[2] Not unlikely, the Rajghat sealing bearing the legend *Buddhasya* in Kushāṇa characters 'flanked on either side by standards with a *chakra* and a fish-tailed lion as capital'[3] is also Buddhistic in character.

Devices on Buddhist seals

The representations of *stūpa* occur on a large number of Buddhist seals.[4] In the case of those erected for Gautama Buddha, they symbolised him as the great teacher as well as the royal prince.[5] The relics deposited in the *stūpa* were called its life and became 'at once an embodiment and tomb of a dying god'.[6] The representations of *stūpa* in art are often such as to suggest that it was not a 'mournful symbol of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*' but a 'symbol of religious joy'.[7]

A square cylinder seal found in the Buddhist monastery at Mohra Moradu, Taxila, bears a 'flagrantly erotic device' on one of the four engraved faces.[8] This, as Marshall suggests, might have had some talismanic value.[9] The erotic device on a Buddhist seal is not surprising; such scenes are not uncommon in the early Buddhist monuments at Sanchi and other places and later became an important part of the Vajrayāna philosophy, which in some way, was responsible for the decay of this religion in India.

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1. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 105, no. 23. pl. XXXIVA, no. 1.
2. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 682, no. 36 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 207, no. 32 ; *CII*, II (i), p. 101, no. 10, pl. XX, 10. It is tempting to translate the legend as 'the seal (*mudrā*) of Satya in his own *vihāra*'.
3. *DHI*, p. 193. The *chakra* may stand for the *Dharmachakra* ; the lion may suggest the Buddha as Śākyasiṁha.
4. Perhaps the idea of the dome was originally suggested by the shape of visible universe, consisting of a vaulted canopy, resting on a circular horizon of earth (Barua, *Barhut*, pt. 1, p. 2). Its origin is pre-Buddhistic, going back to the Vedic period when it represented a funeral monument of the Āryan chieftains (Havell, *Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 4). Though not unknown to the Jainas as evidenced by the finds at Kankali-tila at Mathura, the known examples are mostly Buddhistic.
5. Cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 199.
6. Coomaraswamy, *Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought*, p. 191.
7. Agrawala, *Wheel Flag of India, Chakrahvaja*, p. 19.
8. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 677 and 682, no. 37 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 208. no. 44.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 676.

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The devices and symbols on these seals and sealings are suggestive of intimate connection of the Buddha or Buddhism with their findspots. Nothing could be a more appropriate device than the 'wheel-and-deer' for a monastery at Sarnath where the Buddha set the 'Wheel of Law' in motion for the first time. The symbolism was also adopted for the Nalanda *Mahā-vihāra* though otherwise unconnected with the Buddha's life. The device became symbolic of imparting knowledge. If the Great Buddha had preached at Sarnath, a good many monks, likewise, did the same at Nalanda.[1] Kasia (ancient Kuśīnārā) was the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* which, according to the legend, took place in a *śāla* grove. The monastery at that place is appropriately designated *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāvihāra* and the device on most of the seals of this monastery shows a coffin between two *śāla* trees. The monastery in or near Sankisa had the device of the Buddha's descent from heaven to that place. These seals thus indicate that memories and associations of these sites with the Buddha or Buddhism were faithfully maintained by these establishments in subsequent periods.

1. The device became very popular. The *Dulva* prescribes that 'a man of religious order must have on his seal or stamp a circle with two deer on opposite sites, and below them the name of the founder of the *Vihāra*' (see *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 58).

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CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC LIFE AND ORGANISATION

A prominent feature of ancient Indian polity was the care for the promotion of economic weal and progress of the people. The mainstay of Indian economy has been agriculture but, at the same time, arts and crafts were fostered and patronised as hand-maidens of trade and industries. This was possible through the ages with the institution of various guilds which were a noteworthy feature of ancient Indian socio-economic organisation. The institution of guilds, like that of the caste, profoundly influenced the socio-economic organisations in ancient India and had its impact on the political life of the period as well. More employment and better utilization of capital, greater facilities for commerce and trade-intercourse, efficiency in crafts and callings and need for legal protection were, to a great measure, responsible for the rise and development of such institutions. The history of guilds can be traced to remote antiquity.[1] They have been frequently referred to in literature, epigraphs and coins. Though it would be rather unavailing to aspire for detailed information about guilds through glyptics, yet the little documents do throw some welcome light on the existence, nature and organization of such institutions. We may broadly classify the available guild-seals into *Nigama* and *Śreṇī* ones.[2]

NIGAMA SEALS

The *nigama* seals may, on the basis of their legends, be further classified as below :

1. *Seals with the legend nigama or its variants*

A sealing from Hargaon, district Sitapur, and now in the Lucknow Museum,[3] shows the device of a tree within a railing. It has the legend *negama* in Mauryan characters (pl. XXIV, 4). Another sealing from Jhusi,

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1. R. K. Mookerji cites several passages from Vedic literature and infers not only the existence of guilds during the period, but also their commonness (*LGAI*, pp. 36-44). Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, is sceptic about such conclusions (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 15 and fn.).
2. The *Nigama* and *Śrenī* seals have also been discussed by us in *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 133-51.
3. No. 56, 55.

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now in the Allahabad Museum, has the same device and legend in characters of *circa* second century B.C. along with a *nandipada* symbol.[1]

Quite interesting are the seals from Rajghat. A sealing found in the course of recent excavations conducted by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Hindu University, Varanasi,[2] bears the legend *nigamasa* in characters of *circa* first century B.C. A few other sealings from the same site bear the legend *negamasa* or *nigamasa* in early Kushāṇa characters.[3] Bhita, too, has yielded several seals of this variety which, on palaeographic grounds, have been assigned to the Kushāṇa or Gupta age. No. 57 in Marshall's list bears the legend *na(i)gama*, while no. 58 and 60 have *nigamasa* and no. 59 simply *ni[gama]*.[4] All these are datable to the Kushāṇa age. Sealings no. 61A and 62B of the same list, ascribed to the Gupta period, bear the legend *nigamasya*.[5]

2. *Legend nigama combined with the name of the place*

A terracotta seal-die from Bhita bears, in reverse letters, the legend *Śahijitiye nigamaśa* in Mauryan characters[6] (pl. XXIV, 2). Spooner unearthed a seal at Basarh with the device of a *śaṅkha* and the legend tentatively read by him as *Makkutali (ni)gamasya*.[7] The evidence of these two suggests that certain *nigamas* were named after localities. We may, in passing, note that certain coins from Taxila also bear the legend *nigama* or its variants along with other legends[8] which, in all probability, refer to localities.

3. *Legend nigama combined with another impression*

A Rajghat clay lump in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Hindu University, Varanasi,[9] shows a device,

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1. No. J 452.
2. No. 663.
3. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 56, pl. XIX.
5. The letter *ni*, in the last-mentioned one has been restored by Marshall (*ibid.*).
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 47, pl. XVII, no. 1. According to Marshall, this can palaeographically be dated to the fourth or third century B. C. and is the earliest of the *nigama* seals unearthed so far. The house in the foundation of which this seal was unearthed may, in his opinion, mark the site of the *nigama* (*ibid.*, pp. 30-31).
7. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 127, no. 64A, pl. XLVI.
8. Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 20; Allan, *CCAI*, pp. cxxviff.
9. No. 483.

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apparently something like a domed structure[1] and the legend *nigama* in Gupta characters. It has another impression which probably records a personal name (pl. XXIV, 3). Likewise, another sealing in the Allahabad Museum[2] has two impressions, one bearing a domed structure with a legend *nigama* and the other a *chakra* flanked by two *śaṅkhas* and the legend *Jayaṁtaḥ* (pl. XXIV, 6). Still another from the same site and now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection has the legend *nigamasya* and another impression bearing the legend *Bharatasya* (pl. XXIV, 8). According to Agrawala, half-a-dozen sealings from Rajghat bear the legend *nigama* and record the names of individuals.[3] It is interesting to note that on one clay lump from Rajghat, now in the Allahabad Museum,[4] we have two impressions ; one bears a domed structure and the legend *nigamasya* in early Gupta characters while the other has the legend *amātya*. Similarly, another lump from the same site has one impression with a device and legend identical with the first of the two impressions on the last-mentioned one (pl. XXV, 7) and a second impression (not to be seen on the illustration) bearing the legend *Daṇḍanāyaka Anuttarasya*.[5] Dr. Motichandra refers to a lump from the same site bearing impressions of *nigama* and *Janapada* seals.[6]

4. *Śreshṭhi-nigama*

Seventeen sealings bearing the legend *śreshṭhi-nigamasya* in Gupta characters were unearthed in course of Spooner's excavations at Basarh.[7] These

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1. V. S. Agrawala identifies this type of device as 'granary' (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411). Apparently, it gives the appearance of a *stūpa*, but perhaps stands for a money-chest as is also the case with the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* sealings from Basarh, discussed below.
2. No. 39.
3. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411. He, however, does not specify as to where these seals have been deposited and we are not sure whether these include the two referred to above. Dr. Motichandra has also made reference to this type of sealings (*Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, pp. 91-92).
4. No. R-190.
5. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6376.
6. *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 91.
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 124-125, nos 8B, 36, 53, 282, 286, 404, 612, 629, 631-35, 648, 778, and 808. These sixteen were from the same die. No. 270A in the same list is from another die. Spooner illustrates only one, viz. no. 808 (*ibid.*, pl. L). The device, according to Spooner, "appears as a hemispherical *stūpa* from the top of which project three branches, which make the whole readily mistakable as an urn or *kalaśa* when the impression is not clear. The *stūpa* rests on a platform which is drawn as an apparent attempt at perspective and above which to right and left of the *stūpa*, are two round bosses, whose meaning is unknown" (*ibid.*, p. 124).

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bear additional impressions which appear to record names of certain individuals,[1] probably the *śreshṭhīs* themselves. One more specimen of a *śreshṭhi-nigama* sealing has been discovered in the course of recent excavations at the same site.[2]

5. *Kulika-nigama*

A sealing bearing the legend *kulika-nigama* was unearthed by Marshall at Bhita.[3] Seals of this type are conspicuous by their absence at Basarh, nor is their find reported from other sites.

6. *Śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*

Basarh has also yielded sealings bearing the legend *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*.[4] No other site has yielded seals belonging to such an organisation.

7. *Śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama*

Sealings bearing the above legend and 'money-chest' device have been found in abundance at Basarh (pl. XXV, 2). As many as two hundred and seventy-four were found in excavations conducted by Bloch[5]; a few were brought to light in course of Spooner's excavations at that site,[6] while one was unearthed quite recently (pl. XXIV, 7).[7] The seal-impressions are combined with others on lumps of clay giving names of private individuals. A sizable number of these individuals are distinguished as *kulikas*,[8] *prathama-kulikas*,[9] *sārtthavāhas*,[10] or *śreshṭhīs*.[11] In one case, the legend *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* and the stamp of the office of the *yuvarājapādīya-kumārāmātya* occur on the same lump.[12]

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 124.
2. Deva and Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations*, p. 56.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 56, no. 55A.
4. *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 110, no. 28. The device has been described by Bloch as an 'hemispherical object, probably money-chest, *ibid.*).
5. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110, no. 29, pl. XLI, nos. 19, 23, 29, 32 ; pl. XLII, nos. 39, 40 and 46. The one illustrated is Indian Museum, no. A 18459—NS 6205.
6. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 138, nos. 273A, 274, 276 and 320.
7. Now in the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar Govt., Patna. The legend, however, reads as *Sārthavāha* instead of *sārtthavāha*.
8. The names of a large number of *kulikas* occur (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 114-16).
9. E. g. *prathama-kulika* Hari and *prathama-kulika* Ugrasiṁha (*ibid.*, p. 117).
10. The name of only one *sārthavāha*, Doḍḍa, occurs.
11. The names of two *śreshṭhīs*, viz. shashṭhidatta and Śrīdāsa, occur (*ibid.*, p. 118).
12. *Ibid.*, p. 110, under no. 29.

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8. *[Śre]shṭhi-sārtthavāha-prathama-kulika-nigama*

A unique sealing unearthed in recent excavations at Basarh and now in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar Government, Patna,[1] shows a *stūpa*-like device and the legend *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-prathama-kulika-nigamaḥ* in Gupta characters (pl. XXV, 5).

We may now proceed to discuss the significance of various terms occuring on these seals and sealings.

Nigama

The term *nigama* also occurs in literature (discussed below), inscriptions[2] and coins.[3] The *Amarakośa* treats *nigama* and *vaṇik* as synonymous terms.[4] Viśvarūpa describes *nigama* as an association of the *sārtthavāhas* and persons following similar professions.[5] Aparārka defines it as an association of persons of different *jātis* who go to different lands for commercial purposes.[6] The *Shaṭtriṁśanmata* refers to *naigama* as people following Vedic traditions[7] while the *Mitākṣharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 192) speaks of *nigama* as a body of people, e. g. Pāśupatas who do not accept the authority of the Vedas.[8] Kātyāyana, as quoted in the *Shaṭtriṁśanmata* collates *nigama* with numerous bodies of the town.[9] The commentary Bālaṁbhaṭṭi explains a *nigama* in *Yājñavalkyīya* (II, 192) as *nānā-paurasamūhaḥ*, i.e. aggregations of the manifold citizens.[10] The *Vivādaratnākara* also renders the term *naigama*, occurring in the *Nāradasmṛiti*, as *paurāḥ*, i. e. the body of citizens.[11] Dr. Motichandra brings forth an important evidence of Jain *Bṛihatkalpasūtra-bhāshya* (*śloka*

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1. No 2731 G.
2. E. g. *nigama* of Karahakaṭa (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 131, no. 16); *nigama* of Dhanyakaṭaka (*EI*, XV, p. 263).
3. These bear the legend *nigama* or *negama* on one side and some words like *Talima(ta)*, *Dojaka*, etc., on the other. See Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 63; Allan, *CCAI*, pp. 214-15, pl. XXXI, 1-9.
4. *Amarakośa*, II, text *śloka* no. 2614, p. 254.
5. On *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 192, *sārtthavāhādi-samūho nigamaḥ*.
6. *Ibid.*, *saha deśāntara vāṇijyārthaṁ ye nānā jātiyā adhigachchhanti te nigamāḥ*.
7. *Paurusheyatayā Vedaṁ prāmāṇyaṁ (Veda prāmāṇyaṁ?) pravadanti ye teshāṁ Vaiśeshikādināṁ naigamākhyā prakīrtyate*, as quoted in Kane, *HDS*, III, p. 487.
8. *Naigamāḥ ye Vedasyāpta-praṇītatvena prāmāṇyamichchhanti, pāśupatādayaḥ*; cf. also Shah, *Ancient Foundations of Economics*, p. 59 fn.
9. *Nānā paurasamājastu naigamākhyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ, vide* Kane, *HDS*, III, p. 487, fn.
10. *Vide* Bhandarkar, *CLAIH*, p. 175.
11. *Ibid.*

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1091).[1] It says: *nigama negama vaggo*, i. e. those residing in a *nigama* were called *negama*. The commentator Malayagiri explains the term *nigama* as the appellation of a locality where persons following identical trade resided in groups.[2] Dr. D. C. Sircar points out that in the *Pāisaddamahaṇṇaho* the following connotations of *nigama* have been recognised: a commercial centre or a town inhabited by many tradesmen.[3]

The various references cited above show that *nigama* and its variants were used in more than one sense.[4] *Naigama* would thus variously refer to (a) traders, (b) those residing in the cities and (c) those who followed or did not follow Vedic traditions. *Nigama* would then mean (1) association of traders (i. e. guild) or (2) town or (3) Vedic or non-Vedic traditions. The last of these interpretations can outright be excluded in the context of seals and coins.

Modern writers, too, on the evidence of these early texts and commentaries, interpret the term *nigama* occurring on coins and seals differently. Some of them subscribe to the view that the word *nigama* should be taken in the sense of a city,[5] others, however, interpret *nigama* as a 'guild'.[6] In the present context, we feel disposed to agree with the latter view as the word *nigama* on the seals occurs repeatedly with *śreshṭhī*, *sārtthavāha* and *kulika*, singly or jointly—terms which, as explained below, refer to the people engaged in banking, trading or manufacturing business. The interpretation of *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* as '[seal of] the locality where *śreshṭhīs*, *sārtthavāhas* and *kulikas* resided' would be rather curious. It has been argued with some force that these seals belonged to a city jointly administered by

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1. See *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 92.
2. *Nigamaṁ nāma yatra naigamāḥ vaṇikaviśeshāsteshāṁ vargaḥ samūho vasati ataeva nigame bhavā naigamā iti vyapadishyate* (*ibid.*).
3. *Ind. Mus. Bull.*, IV, pp. 8-9.
4. Dr. K. T. Shah pertinently remarks that the variations in meaning seem to be "due to efflux of time—centuries during which these several bodies changed their composition and functions; or alternately, the Digest compilers kept the traditional terms without being quite sure of their exact significance" (*Ancient Foundations of Economics in India*, p. 60 fn.).
5. Bhandarkar, *CLAIH*, pp. 174-78; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 44; Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 27; also Maity, *Economic Life of India in the Gupta Period*, pp. 156-57; Sankrityayan, *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*, p. 15.
6. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104; Spooner, *ibid.*, 1913-14; Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* p. 24; Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 20 ('trade-token or coin of commerce'); Allan *CCAI*, pl. CXXVI; Banerji, *AIG*, p. 86; Ghoshal in *Classical Age*, p. 593; Mookerji, *LGAI*, p. 112; Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 367; Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, p. 268.

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the *śreshṭhīs*, *sārtthavāhas* and *kulikas*.[1] In that case we have also to think of some cities which were administered only by the *śreshṭhīs* and others only by the *kulikas* and still others by *śreshṭhīs* and *kulikas* jointly, for, as already stated, we have seals bearing legends variously as *śreshṭhi-nigama*, *kulika-nigama* and *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*. There is no denying that Damodarpur copper-plates have unmistakable evidence of a *nagara-śreshṭhin*, a *sārtthavāha* and a *prathama-kulika* serving in the advisory board of the city headquarters of the district officer.[2] But then, they were advisers and not the governors. We are of the opinion that it was because of their importance as representatives of the guilds that they became members of the advisory board. Be it also noted that a reference to these in the council is met with only in matters involving economic issues, viz. sale of land.

As regards the anomaly of various interpretations even in early literature, we venture to make some suggestions. In our opinion, the word *nigama* primarily designated a corporation of people in the economic field. Since, in ancient India and even today, people professing the same trade generally lived or congregated in one locality, the locality itself began to be designated as a *nigama*. We may go a step further and suggest that, as the localities of traders and merchants were generally in towns, the towns themselves came to be styled *nigamas*.[3]

Śreshṭhī

We have already referred to the seals containing the word *śreshṭhī* along with *nigama*[4] as also the two *śreshṭhīs*—Shashṭhidatta and Śrīdāsa whose seals have been stamped together with the seal of *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama*.[5] Also, we have certain seals bearing the names of individual *śreshṭhīs* or their sons. One bone seal from Ahichchhatrā, cylindrical in shape, and now in the Antiquity Section of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi,[6] has a two-lined legend: (*i*) *Sodikaye*, (*ii*) *Seṭhiputasa*, 'Sodika, son of a *śreshṭhī*'. A sealing from Bhita[7] bears the legend *śreshṭhī Jayavasuda*[*ḥ*]. A copper seal

1. Bhandarkar, *CLAIH*, p. 171 fn.
2. *EI, XV*, pp. 130 and 133.
3. Dr. D. C. Sircar points out that the secondary meaning of the word *nagara* (primarily a town) also, in early mediaeval inscriptions of South India, is "a guild of merchants, a mercantile town' (*Ind. Mus. Bull.*, IV, no. 2, p. 9).
4. *Supra*, pp. 225-27.
5. *Supra*, p. 26, fn 11.
6. No. 6900.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 2.

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from Kauśāmbī in the Allahabad Museum[1] contains a two-lined legend: (i) *Śreshṭhiputra-Go* (ii) *pa*.

The *śreshṭhīs* in ancient India were, in all likelihood, bankers as well as merchants. The term *śreshṭhī* is quite ancient and occurs even in Vedic literature.[2] Early Buddhist literature abounds in references to *seṭṭhis* and their fabulous wealth.[3] Epigraphic references to the *śreshṭhīs* and their charitable works are plentiful.[4] We have already seen that a *nagara-śreshṭhī* was a member of the advisory board of the chief city of a district in the Gupta period.[5]

Sārtthavāha

Sārtthavāhas or the trading-merchants had often to conduct long and perilous journeys through forests and barren tracts and were exposed to dangers from robbers,[6] wild animals and hazardous waters.[7] These troubles were amply compensated by the profits they made.[8] The importance of a *sārtthavāha* is suggested by such phrases as *sārtthavāha iva vaṇiggaṇaparivṛitaḥ*, used in stock descriptions of the Buddha.[9] They generally shared perils and sometimes large numbers of them[10] used to travel in caravans under the

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1. No. K469.
2. E. g. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 30. 3; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 1.4.10.
3. E g. *Jātakas* nos. 382 and 445. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* (II, pp. 145-55) mentions Anāthapiṇḍika, brother-in-law of a *Seṭṭhi* of *Rājagṛiha* and has numerous references to *seṭṭhis* (*ibid.*, I, pp. 15, 273, etc.). See also Mookerji, *LGAI*, pp. 46-52.
4. For references see Mookerji, *LGAI*, pp. 8-91.
5. See above. From the *Mudrārākshasa* (Act VII, p. 101) it appears that there was an office like merchant-in-chief of all the towns within a state (*esha śreshṭhī Chandanadāsaḥ pṛithivyāṁ sarvanagara-śreshṭhi-padamāropyatāṁ*). There is, however, no reference to such an office either in the inscriptions or seals (cf. also Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 368 fn 4). A *Jātaka* (no. 445, *Nigrodha Jātaka*), however, mentions an officer who was a judge of all merchant-guilds as well as their treasurer. Hiranand Sastri suggested the possibility of reading the legend on a Nalanda sealing as *Rājavaiśyānāṁ* (*MASI*, 66, p. 55). But, as Chakravarti points out (*ibid.*, fn.), the reading is incorrect.
6. There were villages of robbers (*Jātaka* no. 503, *Sattigumba Jātaka*). A father warns his son that robbers attacked the caravans either from the front or rear (*Divyāvadāna*, ed. by Cowell and Neil, p. 4).
7. As regards the dangers of sea-faring, we read of a mother weeping and expressing doubts about the safe return of her son from a sea-voyage (*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 4-5).
8. *Jātaka* no. 2 (*Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*).
9. Sastri, *Gleanings on Social Life from the Avadānas*, p. 28.
10. The *Jātakas* give the conventional number 500; see *Jātaka* nos. 1 (*Apaṇṇaka Jātaka*), 2 (*Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*) and 29 (*Kaṇha Jātaka*).

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guidance of their common chief, employing regular professional guards for safe conduct and a desert-pilot[1] while journeying through deserts.

Kulika

Kulika is an alternate reading for *kulaka* in the *Amarakośa*[2] and has been explained by Bhānujī Dīkshita as the foremost person in a company of artisans. Basak,[3] Ghoshal,[4] Dikshitar,[5] Sharma[6] and Sircar,[7] also translate the word *kulika* as an 'artisan',[8] while Bloch,[9] Spooner,[10] and Mookerji[11] take it to mean a 'merchant'. R. D. Banerji opines that the term *kulika* is better suited for translation as 'bankers' rather than the term *śreshṭhin*.[12] Jayaswal takes it to mean a judge of the *paura* court.[13] Vogel found *kulikas* in the list of officials in the Chamba Grant and was inclined to take them as members of a special tribe employed as captains or mercenaries.[14]

The connotation of *kulika* in Chamba records, referred to above, may be a local one and does not suit our context as bankers, traders and captains of mercenaries would make a rather strange company. The occurrence of *kulika* along with *śreshṭhī* (banker) and *sārtthavāha* (caravan merchant) and all three forming a *nigama* (corporation) shows that it should be taken to refer to a

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1. *Jātaka* no. 2 (*Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*).
2. *Amarakośa*, line 1939, p. 189, *kulakaḥ syāt kulaśreshṭhī*.
3. *EI, XV*, p. 131.
4. In *Classical Age*, p. 593.
5. *Gupta Polity*, p. 257.
6. *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 237.
7. *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 359.
8. *Kulika* has been included in the list of false witnesses in the *Nāradasmṛiti* (*Ṛiṇādāna-prakaraṇa, śloka*, 166) which also suggests that the term stands for an artisan. See also Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 243.
9. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110.
10. *Ibid.*, 1913-14. p. 108.
11. *LGAI*, p. 112.
12. *AIG*, p. 86.
13. *Hindu Polity*, p. 266. Bhandarkar derives *kulika* from *kula* and takes *prathama-kulikas* as '*kulikas* who apparently were chiefs (of *Gaṇas*)' (*CLAIH*, pp. 170-71).
14. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, p. 127. R. Sankrityayan thinks that in the city council there used to be one *śreshṭhī* and one *sārtthavāha* and other members were called *sad-kulikas* while the chief was styled *prathama-kulika*. This, according to him, would explain the comparatively large number of *kulika* seals (*Purātattva Nibandhāvali*, p. 16, fn).

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person engaged in economic pursuits. Since *śreshṭhīs* of ancient India and even subsequent times, till the introduction of European type of banking in India, were both merchants and bankers,[1] the *kulika* should, therefore, be taken to refer to an artisan.[2] According to Kaṭuilya, there was a special central department to look after the interests of the artisans.[3]

Basarh yielded seals of *kulikas* (pl. XXV, 1)[4] as well as of chief *kulikas* (pl. XXV, 3).[5] This clearly indicates a gradation among the *kulikas*. A person named Hari has been called a *kulika* on one sealing (pl. XXV, 6, the larger impression)[6] and a *prathama-kulika* on another.[7] If both the sealings belonged to one and the same person, it would show that Hari was a *kulika* and later rose to the rank of a *prathama-kulika*.

The *śreshṭhi-nigama* and *kulika-nigama* seals obviously suggest that there were guilds of *śreshṭhīs* and *kulikas* manned separately. No *sārtthavāha-nigama* seal has so far come to light. It seems that the *sārtthavāhas* did not form a separate guild.[8] The nature of their work involving constant movement did not allow much scope for forming an organization of this nature. The *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama* seals show that the *śreshṭhīs* and *kulikas* joined hands to form a common guild. Later, the *sārtthavāhas* (who perhaps did not form a separate guild[9]) also joined the *śreshṭhīs* and the *kulikas* and thus a *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* was formed. In passing, we may add that the *pañchanekame* of Taxila coins, referred to above, seems to have been a larger body which incorporated five smaller corporations.[10] These *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-*

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1. Cf. also Basham, *Wonder That Was India*, p. 222.
2. References to the guilds of artisans occur in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (XVI. 38) of Kālidāsa and of masons under the master-builder in *Pañchatantra* (*vide* Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 237, n.5).
3. *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1 ; cf. also Mookerji, *LGAI*, p. 121.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 114-16. The one illustrated is in Indian Museum ; the legend is *Kulika Śālibhadrasya*.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 117. The one illustrated is Indian Museum, no. A18649.
6. *ASIR*, 1903-04, no. 76, pl. XLII, fig. 37. The one illustrated by us is Indian Museum, no. A18684.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 117, no. 99; *ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 139, no. 277A is a duplicate of it.
8. There is, however, 'some significant evidence of corporate, concerted action among the merchants'. For details, see Mookerji, *LGAI*, p. 79.
9. Dikshitar, however, thinks they, too, had a separate guild (*Gupta Polity*, p. 271).
10. For a different view, viz. that these were issued by five townships, joined together, see Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 27.

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kulika-nigama sealings have been dated to the end of the fourth century A.D.[1] The *śreshṭhīs* and the *sārtthavāhas* were numerically less but more prosperous and influential than the *kulikas* and, therefore, to keep a balance in the representation of the three, in course of time, the *kulikas* came to be represented in the guild by their chiefs (*prathama-kulikas*). The Damodarpur copper plates[2] also corroborate this point of view as, according to these, a *prathama-kulika* served in the advisory board of a *vishayapati* together with a *nagara-śreshṭhī*, a *sārtthavāha* and a *prathama-kāyastha* in the chief city of the district of Koṭivarsha in Bengal in the first half of the fifth century A. D. Since only one specimen of the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-prathama-kulika-nigama* sealing has come to light, it seems that, after the change of designation, the corporation at Basarh did not last long.

In fact, in the post-Gupta period, the *nigama* seals are conspicuous by their absence. The institution of guilds lost much of its improtance during that period.[3] The interpretation given above seems to be more acceptable than the one according to which[4] the towns would have been administered variously by (i) *śreshṭhīs* exclusively, (ii) *kulikas* exclusively, (iii) *śreshṭhīs* and *kulikas* jointly (iv) *śreshṭhīs*, *ārtthavāhas* and *kulikas* and (v) *śreshṭhīs*, *sārtthavāhas* and *prathama-kulikas*.

The *śreshṭhi-nigama*, the *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*, the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* and the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-prathama-kulika-nigama* sealings have been found only at Basarh and nowhere else, they seem to be of local origin and hence not belonging to different towns.[5]

Out of a total of two hundred and seventy-four *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* sealings, two hundred and fifty-four were found in one chamber.[6]

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1. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. by Majumdar and Altekar), p. 355; *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 101-02.
2. *EI*, XV, pp. 130 and 133.
3. Lallanji Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 81-82.
4. This opinion was put forth by Bhandarkar. He writes "..in Gupta period while some towns were administered by *śreshṭhin sārtthavāha* and *kulika* together, some were governed by *śreshṭhin* and *kulika* only conjointly or severally" (*CLAIH*, p. 171, fn.).
5. Dr. D. C. Sircar translates the legends *śreshṭhi-nigama*, *kulika-nigama*, *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*, *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-prathama-kulika-nigama* as 'the *nigama* headed by a *Śreshṭhin* (banker), 'the *nigama* headed by the *Kulika* (artisan)', 'the *nigama* headed by the *Śreshṭhin* assisted by the *Kulika*' and 'the *nigama* headed by the '*Śreshṭhin* aided by the *Sārtthavāha* (trader)' and the First *Kulika* (the chief artisan or the head of the *Kulika* guild)' (*Ind. Mus. Bull.*, IV, p. 9).
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 91 and 104.

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Bhandarkar[1] and Beni Prasad[2] were of opinion that the house belonged to a seal-maker. This envisages that the seal-impressions were a result of testing the seals at that place by the seal-maker. But the suggestion is hardly tenable in view of the fact that most of these sealings bear clear string-marks at their backs testifying that they had been attached to letters, parcels and the like.

Apparently, the chamber, appears to have been a room where sealed letters and documents were housed in safe custody.[3] Alternately, it might have been a refuse room where sealed documents, whose relevancy had expired, were stowed away[4]. Bloch's suggestion that these were attached to letters sent by something like a modern Chamber of Commerce located somewhere in Upper India, perhaps Pāṭaliputra,[5] does not seem to be quite convincing. These guild-sealings, as seen above, bear one or more names of individuals as well.[6] A great variety of names of individuals on these does not favour Bloch's suggestion. Moreover, had it been so, we would naturally have expected the discovery of *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* seals at other sites as well.[7]

According to Altekar, the headquarters of the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika* guild was at Vaiśālī, but its membership was spread over other towns.[8] In his opinion, duplicate copies of this seal (marked with the typical *stūpa*-like money-chest device together with the legend *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama*) were given to various branches of the guild.[9] The impression of such a seal

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1. *IA*, 1912, p. 3.
2. *State in Ancient India*, p. 295, fn. 1.
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 91.
4. The size of the chamber, 10 feet square and 10 feet deep with no opening in any of the walls (*ibid*,, p. 91), favours this view. In this connection, Stein's view expressed in the context of Niya (Central Asia) may be quoted : 'An ample harvest of ancient records in Kharoshṭhī script rewarded the clearing of the adjoining room ii. It had evidently served as an office for the last dweller, probably a petty official, who had left behind his 'waste paper' when the site was abandoned towards the end of the third century A. D.' (*Serindia*, I, p. 216).
5. *ASIAR*, p. 104, Ghoshal endorses Bloch's view (*Classical Age*, p. 593).
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.
7. Maity doubts the existence of such an august body like Chamber of Commerce in ancient India (*Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period*, p. 157, fn 4).
8. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 355.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

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would have been necessary for any correspondence or contract and representatives of local branches added impressions of their own personal seals.[1] Those whose names occur on several sealings[2] were, in his opinion, representatives placed in important cities and corresponded frequently; others, whose names occur in a single or a few cases, were representatives at some smaller localities.[3] The same authority also suggests that the sealings were used to close letters received by the provincial government of Vaiśālī from different branches of this great organisation.[4]

Apparently, Altekar's interpretation seems to be rational but fails to answer some vital questions. It does not explain why practically all the seals found in the chamber (in his opinion) belonging to the government came from the guild of Vaiśālī alone. Again, why should the branches of the guild correspond directly with the government office at Vaiśālī and not through its headquarters located in that city? In our opinion, the room where these sealings were found was a record or refuse-room of the guild itself. The names of individuals, many of them *kulikas*[5], occurring on these sealings may, in most cases, be taken as persons who were members of the guild[6] and who, at times, borrowed money from it in order to invest it for manufacture of goods or similar activities. As testimony to the fact of these guilds lending money to artisans who needed it for investment, we may cite the evidence of Kauṭilya below :

"....Those who can give instructions to artisans, who can be trusted with deposits who can plan artistic work after own design, and who can be relied upon by guilds of artisans, may receive deposits of the guilds. The guilds (*śreṇī*) shall receive their deposits back in time of distress."[7]

Persons whose names occur several times must have transacted business more frequently. They borrowed money quite often for their own sake and

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1. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 356.
2. E. g. the name of Iśānadāśa occurs on seventy-five cases and those of Mātṛidāsa, Gomisvāmi and Ajapāla in thirty-eight, thirty-seven, and sixteen cases respectively.
3. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 356.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 355-56.
5. See *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104. For names of several *kulikas*, see *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 114-16, two *prathama-kulikas*, Hari and Ugrasiṁha (*ibid.*, p. 117), two *śreshṭhīs* Shashṭhidatta and Śrīdāsa (*ibid.*, p. 118) and one *sārtthavāha* Doḍḍa by name (*ibid.*, p. 117).
6. Cf. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104.
7. Shamasastri's translation, 6th edition, p. 227. There are certain differences in the texts of different manuscripts ; these have been noted by the translator.

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at times, stood surety for loans advanced to others who were not members of the guild and, as such, whom the guild did not deem worthy of direct transactions for want of knowledge about their antecedents.

The legends *namaḥ, namastasmai* (pl. XXV, 6[1]) *jitaṁ bhagavatā, namaḥ Paśupateḥ* (i. e. *Paśupataye*), etc.,[2] which occur along with the impressions of the guild-seal, have been taken by Altekar as impressions of seals of Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples which probably conducted their financial transactions at Vaiśālī through the agency of the great guild.[3] Contemporary or near contemporary epigraphs, no doubt, bear testimony to the fact that donors sometimes deposited money in the shape of fixed deposits with guilds on the condition that, out of the interest accruing thereof, some charitable works like feeding the poor or monks or burning of a lamp in some temple, etc., were to be carried out. But had these impressions been of temple-seals, then the legends would, in all probability, have given the names of the temples rather than the formulae, particularly so when the temples were parties to contracts involving monetary transactions.[4] We are of opinion that these are pious and auspicious formulae like the present-day *Srī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ* and other similar ones, very much in vogue, particularly in the business community. Legends like *namaḥ* and *namastasmai* are apparently of a general type whereas *jitaṁ bhagavatā* smacks of Vaishṇavism and *namaḥ Paśupateḥ* (*Paśupataye*) is definitely Śaivite. We may also note another interesting formula that occurs on guild seals, viz. *Dharmo rakshati rakshitaḥ*, i.e. '*dharma* protects, when protected'.[5] The addition of the formula, besides conforming to the traditional way of beginning a contract, would have given a touch of sancity to it which might have created a religious fear against its violation.

D. R. Bhandarkar[6] thought that the impression of a *kumārāmātya* seal on the lump also bearing the impress of *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* seal[7]

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1. No. 18684 Indian Museum, Calcutta; Bloch, (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, no. 76, pl. XLII, fig. 37).
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110, under no. 29.
3. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 356 fn.
4. Such formulae generally occur on votive seals and sealings (*supra*, Chap. IV). We have also discussed such seals in our paper 'Motto Seals and Sealings-Religious and Ethical' (*JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 26-39).
5. Curiously enough, Bloch (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 104-05) and Marshall (*ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 48) took the legend as a personal name. However, see *infra*, Appendix—'Non-Sectarian mottos'.
6. *CLAIH*, p. 171 fn.
7. See also *supra*, p. 226.

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was an important evidence in favour of the interpretation of the word *nigama* as 'town', for, according to him, it agrees with the administrative fact furnished by the Damodarpur plates viz., immediately above the town officials was the *kumārāmātya*. Dr. D. C. Sircar[1] considers this evidence of the Damodarpur copper-plates as pointing to a transaction involving both the office of the governor of the district and *nigama*—the latter he takes to mean a *pañchāyata* type of administration.

We have seen above that there are also examples of lumps bearing (i) impressions of a *nigama* seal and an *amātya* seal,[2] (ii) a *nigama* seal and a *janapada* seal[3] and (iii) a *nigama* seal and a *daṇḍanāyaka* seal.[4] Now these cannot be explained the way Bhandarkar and Dr. Sircar have explained the lump bearing the impress of the *nigama* seal and a *kumārāmātya* seal. In our opinion, these suggest transactions between the guilds and the government officers or institutions. This fully speaks of the dependability of guilds in ancient India which fact is amply attested by literature.[5]

ŚREṆĪ SEALS

Only two sealings belonging two different *śreṇīs* have come to our notice.

1. *Gavayāka śreṇī*

A sealing from Rajghat bears the legened *Gavayāka seniye* (In the guild of milkmen) in *circa* first century B. C. characters around a *svastika* in the middle field (pl. XXIV, 1).[6]

2. *Āraṇyaka śreṇī*

A sealing from the same site as the preceding one bears the legend *Vārāṇa,yāraṇyaka-śreṇi*, '([Seal] of the guild of the forest people of Varanasi').[7]

Members of the *Gavayāka śreṇī* reared milch cattle and dealt in milk, curd, butter and *ghee*. The *Mahāvastu* mentions *dadhyikā* (dealers in curd) and *ghṛitakuṇḍikā* (dealers in *ghee* in pots) in a long list of *śreṇīs*.[8] Dr. Moti-

1. *Ind. Mus.* Bull., IV, p. 9.
2. *Supra*, p. 225.
3. *ibid.*
4. *ibid.*
5. *Infra*, pp. 238ff.
6. See also *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 410.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Mahāvastu Avadānam* (ed. by Senart), III, pp. 113 and 442-43.

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chandra[1] points out that the commentary on the Jaina Text *Jambudvīpa Prajñapti* (3.4.5) mentions, among others, the guild of milkmen. Members of the other guild (*āraṇyaka śreṇī*) must have dealt in forest products. We may note that the *Mahāvastu*[2] refers to the *śreṇīs* of those who dealt in fruits (*phala-vāṇijā*), roots (*mūla-vāṇijā*), straw (*tṛiṇa-vāṇijā*), wood (*kāshṭha-vāṇijā*), bark (*valkala-vāṇijā*), bamboo (*vaṁśa-vāṇijā*), while the *Jātaka* stories refer to villages of foresters and hunters near Varanasi.[3]

The term *śreṇī* occurs even in the *Ṛigveda*.[4] The Buddhist literature frequently refers to eighteen guilds.[5] *Śreṇī* in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (II.1.59) is explained by Kaiyaṭa and *Tattvabodhinī* as an association of adults following a common trade or dealing in a common commodity.[6] Kauṭilya uses the term in the sense of an association of merchants, artisans or military clans.[7] Medhātithi (on *Manu.*, VIII 41) explains the term as an association of traders, artisans, money-lenders or users and also of men proficient in the four branches of learning (or four Vedas). The *Vyavahāramayūkha* on *Nārada* (X.I) defines *śreṇīs* as an association of several castes joined together for the purpose of pursuing a common trade.[8] From the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* it appears that the *śreṇīs* exercised control over the exclusive right of sale of a particular commodity to a particular guild.[9] The above citations[10] favour the view that the *śreṇī* was an association of persons following the same vocation.

Guilds (*śreṇīs*) had the privilege of making their own laws (bye-laws) which even kings respected, provided these did not go against the interest

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1. *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 82.
2. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 113, 442-43. cf. also *Milindapañho* (ed. by V. Trenckner) p. 331, where a reference occurs to the grass-cutters and hewers of wood.
3. *Jātaka* nos. 501 (*Rohanta-Miga Jātaka*), 540 (*Sāma Jātaka*); cf. also *Jātaka* no. 265 (*Khurappa Jātaka*). Obviously, the number is conventional.
4. *Ṛigveda*, 1.16.10, *vide* Kane, *HDS*, vol. II, pt. I. p. 67.
5. *Jātakas* nos. 538 (*Mūgapakkha Jātaka*), 546 (*Mahāummagga Jātaka*), *Mahāvastu* (Senart's ed.), vol. III, pp. 114 and 442; cf. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 18-19.
6. *Ekena śilpena paṇyena vā ye jīvanti teshāṁ samūhaḥ śreṇiḥ*; see Mookerji, *LGAI*, p. 33.
7. See *Arthaśāstra*, Book VII, sec. 16; Book IX, section 2, *Kāmbhoja-Surāshṭra-kshatriya-sreṇyādayo vārttā śastropajīvinaḥ*, i.e. the *śreṇīs* of the *kshatriyas* of Kambhoja and Surāshṭra subsist by the possession of arms and *vārtā* (economic pursuits).
8. *Vyavahāramayūkha*, p. 132, *Nānā jātīyānāmekajātīyaṁ karma-kurvatāṁ saṁghātāḥ śreṇayaḥ*; cf. also *Mitākharā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 30, *Nānājātīnāmekajātīyakarmopajivināṁ saṁghātāḥ*.
9. *Vide* Kane, *HDS*, III, p. 487.
10. For other references see Mookerji, *LGAI*, pp. 29-30.

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of the state or offend morality.[1] They also functioned as courts and had the authority to adjudicate in disputes of individual members or between the members and the guild and to punish a refractory member.[2] In fact, the guilds in certain respects, proved to be no an less an effective organization than the caste. Kings highly valued such institutions[3] along with their representatives and often bestowed favours on them.

The characteristic features of these *śreṇīs*, viz. hereditary professions, localisation of different branches of industry,[4] institution of headmen[5] and possession of a militia on which even the kings also depended for support in time of emergency,[6] suggest a comparison with the European corporations in the Middle Ages.[7] They had their own banners marked with their insignias representing the implements of their industry, and were allotted separate pavilions decorated with such banners for witnessing special performance.[8]

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1. *Manu*, VIII, 41 :
   Jāti janapadāndharmān śreṇi dharmāṁścha dharmavit,
   samīkshya kuladharmāṁścha svadharmaṁ pratipādyayet.
   Cf. *Gautama Dh. Sūtra*, Ānandāśrama ed., 2.2.20-21 : *deśajātikuladharmāśchāmnayair-aviruddhāḥpramāṇam Karshakavaṇikpaśupālakusīdikāravaḥ sve sve varge.*
   See also *Bṛihaspati*, 17.15,
   kula-śreniganādhyakshāḥ puradurganivāsinaḥ,
   vāgdhigdaṁaṁ parityāgaṁ prakuryuḥ pāpakāriṇāṁ.
   taiḥ kṛitaṁ cha svadhaṛmeṇa nigrahānugrahaṁ nṛiṇāṁ,
   tadrājño'pyanumantavyaṁ nisṛishṭārthā hi te smṛitāḥ.
2. *Bṛihaspati.*, 17.15.
3. Cf. also *Mbh.* (Cal. ed). *Vanaparva*, chap. 248, where a king includes the headmen of guilds amongst those whose opinion he would care for:
   Brāhmaṇāḥ śreṇimukhyāścha tathodāsīnavṛittayaḥ,
   kiṁ mā vakshyanti kiṁ chāpi prativakshyāmi tānaham.
4. village of carpenters numbering 500 (*Jātaka* no. 156) ; village of 1000 families of smiths (*Jātaka* no. 387). Even parts of cities were peopled by persons following one vocation or craft (*Jātaka* nos. 72, 121). The *Arthaśāstra* (IX, 11) refers to the reservation of areas for artisans.
5. E. g. *Jātaka* nos. 387 (*Sūchi J.*), 531 (*Kusa J.*), 415 (*Kumāsapiṇḍa J.*), 466 (*Samudda J.*).
6. *Arthaśāstra*, IX, 11 ; cf. also the evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* quoted by Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India* pp. 28-30).
7. Fick, *Social Organization in North-East India*, (trans. from German by S. Maitra), p. 284.
8. *Mahābhārata* (Gītā Press), *Khilabhāga, Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva, adhyāya* 29, *śloka* 5 :
   svakarma dravyayuktābhiḥ patākābhirnirantaram,
   śreṇīnāṁcha gaṇānāṁ cha mañchābhāntyachalopamāḥ.
   An eleventh century inscription speaks of a guild that had its own umbrella and chowrie, which it had obtained through a royal charter (*IA*, X, p. 188 ; cf. also Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 370). We may recollect that the device on *śreshṭhi-*

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Guilds transacted their business in an orderly manner and no indiscipline or misappropriation of funds was to be allowed to go unpunished.[1] Their gains and losses were shared by all members.[2] Yājñavalkya lays down that the office-bearers of a guild should be persons of character and attainment and that their instructions be scrupulously carried out.[3] In case of dissensions, the king had to make both parties conform to the established usage.[4] Ancient Indian literature, in fact, throws welcome light on the organization, functions rights and duties, powers and prestige, prosperity and the internal quarrels of these guilds.[5]

Inscriptions also testify to a variety of guilds generally named after the common vocation of their members.[6] They further attest that guilds, in ancient times, famous as they were for their efficient organization, integrity and stability, also acted as bankers and trustees accepting deposits and paying interest or doing some charitable work in accordance with the wishes of the donor. Rich as many of them were, at times they made gifts and created religious edifices as well. A Gupta epigraph bears[7] testimony to the long life of the guild of silk-weavers, its munificence, its mobility[8] and the elasticity of occupation amongst its members.[9] Kingdoms and empires rose and fell but the guilds mostly continued their existence unruffled.

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sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama seals has been, with a good deal of justification, identified by Bloch (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110) as money-chest, a very appropriate symbol for a guild. The *Arthaśāstra* (XI, 1) refers to bags of money with golden seals. The *nigama* coins from Taxila bear the device of a steelyard (*ASR*, XIV, p. 20)—again an appropriate symbol for a *nigama*.

1. *Yāj.*, II, 187 ; *Manu.*, VIII, 219.
2. *Yāj.*, II, 259.
3. *Ibid*, II, 191.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 192,
   Śreṇi-naigama-pāshāṇḍi-gaṇānāmapyayaṁ vidhiḥ,
   bhedañchaishāṁ nṛipo rakshet pūrvavṛittiṁcha pālayet.
5. For details, see Mookerji, *LGAI*, chapters III-IV, and Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, chapter I.
6. E. g. ivory workers (*EI*, II, p. 92) ; flour-makers (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 152) weavers (*EI*, VIII, p. 82, line 2) ; silk-cloth weavers (*CII*, III, no. 18) ; oilmen (*ibid.*, no. 16).
7. *CII*, III, no. 18.
8. For mobility of guilds, see also *CII*, III, no. 16.
9. Fleet (*CII*, III. p. 80) thought that the membership of the guild was confined only to those who adhered to the profession of silk-weaving. Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 66), however, pointed out that the expression *adhikamabhivibhāti śreṇi-revaṁ prakāraiḥ* in this context shows that the guild flourished through all—those who adhered to the original profession as well as those who adopted other professions.

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The *śreṇī* and the *nigama* would refer to guilds of two different types, the former consisting of persons belonging t› one or more castes but following the same profession and the latter incorporating persons following various crafts or merchants dealing in various commodities.[1] Epigraphic evidence tends to suggest that the latter had some kind of jurisdiction over the former. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar's latest interpretation[2] of the concluding sentences in the damaged Nagarjunikonda inscription of the time of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvla Śāntamūla,[3] the four *śreṇīs* (in which permanent endowments were made) were to do the embellishment of the *devakula* and *sthala*, failing which the *nigama* was to get that done. This, he says, 'would suggest that the *nigama*.....had some kind of jurisdiction over the *śreṇīs*.....'[4] Similarly, from the Nasik Inscription of (Śaka) year 42[5] we know of the creation of a permanent endowment by depositing a certain sum of money in two *śreṇīs* for some specific purpose and we are told that the whole matter was declared in the *nigama sabhā*. This again suggests that the *nigama sabhā* had the power to compel *śreṇīs* to do the things specified in the grant.[6]

The guilds, whose power and prestige, popularity and prosperity and even influence on rulers have already been referred to above, could not have found it difficult to issue coins, such as have been found at Taxila.[7]

OTHER PROBABLE GUILD SEALS

We may also refer to a few sealings which belonged to certain professions and might have even belonged to guilds. A terracotta sealing of the Gupta period from Kumrahar[8] shows, in upper half, a spouted vessel with a lid in the centre flanked by a conch on the left, and a serpent on the right. In the lower half occurs the legend *Tambolikarmasya* (pl. XXV, 4). It may

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1. This would meet the objection of Bhandarkar (who, on the basis of the fact that the terms *nigama* and *śreṇi* occur simultaneously in the literature and the latter, undoubtedly, refers to guild), opined that *nigama* would mean something else (See Bhandarkar, *CLAIH*, p. 176, fn. 1).
2. *Ind. Mus. Bull.*, IV, p. 8.
3. *EI*, XXXV, p. 4.
4. *Ind. Mus. Bull.*, IV, p. 8.
5. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 164 ff.
6. *Ind. Mus. Bull.*, IV, p. 8. Dr. Sircar, however, translates *nigama sabhā* as the 'citizens' council' and thinks that it might have been an administrative board of the *pañchāyata* type (*ibid.*, p. 9).
7. For a different view, see Bhandarkar, *CLAIH*, p. 176.
8. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 104, no. 8, pl. XXXIII, no. 10.

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mean 'of a worker in betel' or 'of Karma, a *tambolī*' (i.e. betel-seller). The *Mitākṣharā* mentions *tāmbulakas* as one of the types of *śreṇīs*.[1] The guild of dealers in betel has also been mentioned in the list of eighteen guilds in the commentary on the Jain work *Jambudvīpa Prajñapti*.[2] There is a reference to *panika-seni* in a Nagarjunikonda inscription. Dr. D. C. Sircar renders it in Sanskrit as *pārṇika śreṇī* and translates it as the guild of the sellers or growers of (betel) leaves.[3] It may be noted, in passing, that the guild of people dealing with betel finds mention in the Siyadani inscription of the tenth century A. D.[4]

The seal may thus indicate existence of a guild of betel-sellers. The representation of the vase and snake is interesting. While the former might signify a *maṅgala kalaśa* or the water-vessel kept by betel-sellers for frequent wetting of the betel-leaves, the latter may indicate the presence of snakes in betel plantations—a common phenomenon, or may even be suggestive of the *Nāga* cult. It may also be stated here that one of the Sanskrit words for betel is *Nāgavallī*.[5]

Then there are a few other seals referring to certain professions. Shri M. M. Nagar has noticed two seals from Kauśāmbī; on one he reads the legend as *Nāvikasa*[6] (Sanskrit *Nāvikasya*), '[seal] of a boatman', in the second century B. C. characters and on the other the legend *Rathikasa*.[7] He takes the latter to be an equivalent of Sanskrit *Rathikasya* which would make the seal as that of a charioteer.

A terracotta sealing from Bhita in the Allahabad Museum bears a circular legend *Śūlaphalayikanaṁ* in characters of *circa* second or first century B. C. (XXIV, 5). It seems to refer to the makers of arrow-heads[8] (*śūlaphala*) or spear-heads, or both.

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1. On *Yāj.*, II. 30.
2. Vide Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, p. 190, fn. 5.
3. *EI*, XXXV, p. 5 Could this be the guild of persons dealing in *pattals* (i. e. leaves knitted to form large plates on which food is served particularly on the occasion of congregational feeding ?
4. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 70.
5. *Amarakośa*, II, 120, *tāmbūlavallī tāmbūlī nāgavallayapyatha dvijā*. I owe this reference to Shri M. C. Joshi.
6. *JUPHS*, XII, p 84, no. 2, pl. facing p. 84.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 11, pl. facing p. 84. Dr. Chhabra has kindly suggested to us the possibility of *Raṭhika* being a Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit *Rāshṭrika*.
8. In ancient India there was much specialization in various small crafts. Even the various parts of an object like the arrow were manufactured separately by different persons. As Prof. Basham puts it, "....one man would fashion the shaft of arrow, a second would fix the flights and a third make and fix the point" (Basham, *Wonder That Was India*, p. 216).

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We may, in passing, also refer to two seals from Ujjain, one of terracotta, bearing the legend *Gosahitakasa* in characters of *circa* first century B. C.,[1] and the other of ivory, having a four-lined legend of which only the last two are legible and read *Goṭhajasa* and *Tisākasa* respectively in similar characters.[2] The first may be of the guild of people rearing cattle and *goṭha* in the second seems to be similar to *goshṭha*, 'a company' or 'guild'[3].

GRAECO-ROMAN DEVICES ON SEALS AND TRADE

Several seals and sealings unearthed at Rajghat in stratified levels datable to *circa* second or third century A. D.[4] and discussed by us in some detail elsewhere[5] bear Graeco-Roman devices—figures of Nike, Pallas, Apollo and Herakles, besides busts of kings (pl. XXXV). Their find at Rajghat has caused some surprise to historians.[6] According to some[7] their origin should be ascribed to the Indo-Greek invasion in the second century B. C. referred to in the *Yugapurāṇa*[8] and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali[9] and their presence in the later strata at Rajghat (in their opinion) was due to the removal of earth from earlier strata for filling subsequent constructions in the second or third century A. D.[10]

The Indo-Greek invasion of Middle and Eastern India was just a hurried one.[11] Places like Sāketa, Mathura and Pāṭaliputra which have been specifically mentioned in the *Yuga Purāṇa*[12] in the context of the Indo-Greek invasion, and Madhyamikā mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali[13] in similar context, have not yielded such objects. In Passing, it may be stated that Varanasi has not been mentioned in that context. Moreover, some of these

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1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, p. 88, no. 78.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 89, no. 82.
3. The Bhattiprolu inscriptions refer to *goshṭhīs* (*EI*, II, p. 327, no. III; p. 328, no. V; p. 329, no. IX).
4. Deva, *ABIHI*, III, pl xliv; *JNSI*, III, pp. 73 ff.
5. *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 135-39; See also Appendix 'Coin Devices on Seals', *infra*.
6. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 43: 'One is surprised to find popular Greek deities of Indo-Bactrian coins occurring on private seals of Banaras nearly five hundred years after the disappearance of the Greek rule'.
7. Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 56.
8. *Yuga Purāṇa*, *JBORS*, XIV, p. 402, lines 22-23.
9. *Mahābhāshya*, III, 2. 111.
10. Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 56.
11. *Yuga Purāṇa* (*JBORS*, XIV, p. 402, line 42), *Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddhadurmadā.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 402 (lines 22-23).
13. *Mahābhāshya*, III, 2.111.

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sealings from Rajghat also bear string-marks on their back[1] indicating that they were used for sealing the documents, whereas army marches calling for temporary halts could scarcely have envisaged such use.

Excavations at Taxila have yielded a sealing bearing the figure of Nike[2] and some intaglios with the Indo-Greek coin-devices—figures of Athena[3] and Nike,[4] other Graeco-Roman figures[5] and royal busts.[6] The resemblance between these figures and those of Rajghat is indeed very close. According to Marshall, all the intaglios except two "are of such workmanship, that on grounds of style they might well be attributed to the third-fourth centuries A. D."[7] Associated finds, in his opinion, suggest *circa* first century A. D. as their date.[8] Marshall, however, is undecided about the place of manufacture of those intaglios, which in his opinion, could either be Greece or India itself.[9] In any case, these objects were there in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Interestingly enough, sealings bearing similar Graeco-Roman devices have been found by Aurel Stein at Niya in Central Asia[10] in levels ascribable to the second-third centuries.[11]

The cosmopolitan character of the population of Taxila is too well known[12] as also the Hellenistic impact evidenced by the architectural remains and other antiquities at that site. But there were considerable number of the Greeks and Romans, even their colonies, at other sites as well. One of the municipal committees at Pāṭaliputra during the time of Chandragupta

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1. Cf. also Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 57.
2. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 682 ; III, pl. 207, no. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 650, under no. 71; III, pl. 207, no. 10f.
4. *Ibid.*, II, p. 650; III, pl. 207, no. 10, b and g.
5. *Ibid.*, II, p. 650; III, pl. 207, no. 10, c, d and e.
6. *Ibid.*, II, p. 650; no. 72; III, pl. 207.
7. *Ibid* , II, p. 650.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 676.
10. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 571 ; *Ancient Khotan*, I, p. 354, pl. LXXI-LXXII.
11. *Ancient Khotan*, p. 357. Dr. Motichandra, however, quotes V. S. Agrawala's opinion to the effect that these Niya sealings may be earlier in date and the impressions might have lasted till a few centuries later. He takes these also to be the result of an invasion and in this connection refers to Strabo's (II. 518) quotation from Apollodorus that the frontiers of Balkh were extended during the time of Demetrius and Menander (*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 58).
12. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 43.

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Maurya was exclusively entrusted to the care of the foreigners.[1] Varanasi would also have had such population.[2] The city, so famous for its being a religious centre, was also an important centre of trade.[3] One of the main items of such a trade was the fine Kāśī cloth which has been much praised in the *Jātakas*.[4] Reference to a street of ivory workers at Varanasi is met with in a *Jātaka*[5] and the industry which continues to flourish even to this day would also have supplied products for export to the Graeco-Roman world. Indian ivory pieces have been brought to light at certain Roman sites[6] and Varanasi might have been the source of some of them.

The find of a sealing and some intaglios bearing Greek devices at Taxila and sealings with similar devices at Varanasi and Niya suggest contact between these sites. Taxila was a meeting place of three high roads viz., from Eastern India, Central Asia and from Bactria and beyond. The people of Taxila, more particularly the Graeco-Roman population of this city, might have acted as middlemen in that trade.

Sealings which bear string-marks on the back, were used for sealing correspondence or merchandise by merchant-traders, while others were mere tokens proving the *bona fides* of the intermediaries. Archaeological evidence dates such intaglios and sealings at the ancient sites of Rajghat, Taxila and Niya in the early centuries of the Christian era. Trade and commerce in

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1. *Vide* Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, pp. 234-35. In the royal palaces of India young maidens mostly Greek were kept for their qualities of dancing and music; many of them formed part of the female militia which guarded the harem. See also McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 42.
2. B. C. Law (in his *Historical Geography*, p. 95) says that, according to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, one of the four quarters at Varanasi was named *Madana Vārāṇasī* and inhabited by the *Yavanas*. Dr. P. L. Gupta, however, suggested to us that the reference pertains to the Muhammadan population.
3. See Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, pp. 47 ff., 60-61, 81-82 wherein testimony of the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Mahābhāshya*, the *Jātaka* stories, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the *Divyāvadāna*, etc., have been cited to this extent.
4. See *Jātaka* nos. 302, 542, etc. Patañjali on Pāṇini (V. 3, 55) says that people had to pay different prices for pieces of cloth of the same size as one belonged to Kāśī and another to Mathura. It has been suggested that the Gangetic muslin, so highly prized and admired in the *Periplus* refers to Varanasi cloth (Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 81).
5. *Jātaka*, no. 72.
6. Vogel, *ABIA*, XII, pp. 1-5, pl. I, 1-4; Basham, *Wonder That Was India*, p. 229, pl. LXXXVII h. It has also been suggested that sandal and sandal works (of which we have testimony of *Jātaka* no. 75) would also have been items of export.

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the early centuries of the Christian era[1] rather than invasion in the second, century B. C., would explain their presence at Rajghat and other sites.

OTHER ASPECTS OF ECONOMY

In ancient India, considerable importance was attached to animals which played an important part in gearing the economy of the dominantly agricultural and pastoral country like India. Aśoka imposed restrictions on injury to animals;[2] the *Smṛitis* also prescribe penalties for wanton destruction of animal life. Cattle rearing (*paśupālya*) was an important subject of study and formed part of *Vārtā*—one of the four branches of knowledge, and assigned to the Vaiśyas as a means of livelihood. Deification of animals was indeed an expression of gratefulness towards them. Seals portray several species of animals and, though they are mostly suggestive of their religious import, other aspects of their usefulness cannot be ruled out. The bull[3] appears as a device on the largest number of seals discovered so far. Its use in agriculture and transport is attested to from the earliest times. The elephant[4] was used in warfare, for riding and carrying loads and was also suggestive of eminent social status. The importance of horse[5] in military manoeuvre and for riding as well as drawing chariots hardly needs any description here. Camel,[6] the ship of the desert, served as a pack animal in the arid regions. The flesh of the boar[7] was also eaten. The deer[8] was hunted for its meat and skin. The meat of the peacock[9] was greatly relished in ancient times. Even the kind-hearted king Aśoka, it seems, could not wholly stop the slaughter of that bird forthright.[10]

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1. In these centuries, archaeological and literary evidence point out brisk commercial contact between India and the West (Wheeler, 'Arikamedu : An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India', *AI*, no. 2, pp. 17 ff; Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*; Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman Emprie and India*).
2. R. E., I. (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 15-16).
3. Pl. II, 2, 3, 4, 6.
4. Pl. XXXI, 4-5, 11.
5. Pl. XXX, 3 ; with rider on the back (Bharat Kala Bhavan, nos. 6483-85), drawing chariot (*Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, 1961, pp. 11-12, pl. IV, fig. 1).
6. Pl. XXXI, 7-8.
7. Pl. XIX, 4 ; XXXI, 7-8.
8. Pl. I, 1.
9. Pl. IX, 4 ; XXX, 2.
10. R. E., I. (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 17).

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No. 93 in Spooner's list of Basarh seals bears a beautiful representation of a boat with a prow, stern, oar, and passenger-decks amidships.[1] A female figure, identifiable as Lakshmī, is shown standing in the boat (XXI, 6). It seems to have been a merchant vessel. Likewise, certain sealings in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta,[2] bear the device of a boat. In ancient India, right from the Harappan times[3], a good deal of trade and communication was riverine.

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 129-30.
2. E. g. T. 6858 and T. 80-42 (both from Chandraketugarh).
3. A dockyard has been found at Lothal, an important Harappan site in Kathiawar (*AI.*, nos. 18-19, p. 179, pl. LA). For detailed account of the sea-faring activities of the Indians see Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*.

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Ancient Indian literature furnishes numerous details regarding education, to wit, different types of institutions, courses of study, methods of teaching, duties and obligations of teachers and the taught, their mutual relationship and the part played by the state and society in the furtherance of learning. Yet it would be interesting to note the evidence of tiny little glyptics on education and educational institutions. Their very nature and size precludes us from expecting detailed information from them but, as shown below, the information supplied by them is of importance in the reconstruction of educational system of ancient India, mainly in the form of glyptic corroboration of literary and epigraphic evidence. We may broadly classify these glyptics into (A)Brahmanical and (B)Buddhistic.

BRAHMANICAL SEALS

Glyptics throwing light on the Brahmanical system of education and educational institutions belong to the (i) *charaṇa*, (ii) *agrahāra*, (iii) *traividya*, (iv) *chāturvidya*, (v) *parishad* and (vi) temples.

Charaṇa[1]

Certain seals refer to the *charaṇas*. These were *śākhās* (recensions of the Vedas) and their followers were generally also named after them.[2] Originally, perhaps there were only three *charaṇas*—Bahvṛichya (*Ṛigveda*), Adhvaryu (*Yajurveda*) and Chhandogya (*Sāmaveda*). Likewise, there was also a body of Brāhmaṇas for each of the Vedas. But, owing to the system of oral tradition, the *Brāhmaṇas*, as would be expected from their very nature, underwent even greater alterations than the *Saṁhitās*. The adoption of one particular version of a *Brāhmaṇa* created a new *charaṇa*. In course of time, these *charaṇas* developed their own literature comprising not only the

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1. In the study of the *charaṇa* seals, we have benefitted much by the study of Dr. V. S. Pathak's articles 'Religious Sealings from Rajghat (II) (*JNSI*, XX, pp. 195ff.) and 'A sealing of the *Atharvaṇika Charaṇa*', (*JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 214ff.).
2. *Kāśikā*, II, 4,3.

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Brāhmaṇas but also the Âraṇyakas, Upanishadic texts, the Kalpasūtras,[1] and later on even the Dharmasūtras.[2] Fellow students belonging to the same *charaṇa* were called *sabrahmachārins*.[3] The *charaṇas* had their own *parishads* which framed their rules and regulations.[4] A Brahmaṇa was expected to give full details of his *charaṇa*.[5] Leaving one's own *śākhā* and adopting another was looked down upon.[6] Based on the traditions of sacred learning, the *charaṇas* were more ideal ties than *gotras* based on kinship.

Bahvṛich-charaṇa[7]

A few sealings of the *Bahvṛich-charaṇa* have been discovered at Rajghat. One of these, in Bharat Kala Bhavan,[8] shows two trees in the upper field, and has the legend *Bahvṛicha-charaṇaṁ* in Gupta characters in the lower (pl. XXVI, 2). Two sealings in the same collection[9] and two in the Allahabad Museum[10] bear the same legend and a device which has been described as 'a man (*āchārya*) in *dvibhaṅga* posture flanked by two small boys (*māṇavakas*) under a semi-circular canopy of trees[11]....'. But the figures (pl. XXVI,1)[12] appear to be composite ones, animal-headed and human-bodied. Bahvṛich is a *charaṇa* of the *Ṛigveda*. The latter has been described in the *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* (a thirteenth century text) as 'of white colour, two armed, ass-faced, benevolent, holding a rosary and engaged in the act of studying (or in the act of exposition)'[13]. The *Jayākhya-saṁhitā*, an earlier (Gupta period) text, describes the Vedas in iconic form as composite figures, part-man and part-

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1. *Vide* Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 286.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, VI, 3.86.
4. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 297 and 302.
5. See e. g. the story of a Brāhmaṇa who became an object of redicule because he failed to give details about his *charaṇa* (*Mbh.*, *Śāntiparva*, chap. CLXXI; *vide JNSI*, XX, p. 195, text and fn. 6).
6. *Karmapradīpa*, 1.3.2.
7. We discussed the seals of this *charaṇa* in a seminar held by the State Museum, Lucknow.
8. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6288.
9. Nos. 6286 and 6287.
10. Nos. 41 and 183.
11. *JNSI*, XX, p. 296. Agrawala in his preface to Dr. Motichandra's *Kāśi kā Itihāsa* (p. 9) holds that the *āchārya* is shown here as watering plants. This, however, is not clear.
12. The one illustrated is in Allahabad Museum (no. 183).
13. *Chaturvvargachintāmaṇi*, p. 104:

    Ṛigvedaḥ śvetavarṇṇaḥ syāt dvibhujo rāsabhānanaḥ
    akshmālāmayaḥ saumyaḥ prītaśchādhyayanodyataḥ

    Dr. Pathak quotes (*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 215) from some other edition as *vyākhyāpanodyataḥ* ('in the act of exposition') instead of *adhyayanodyataḥ*.

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horse.[1] The face of the central figure seems to be that of a horse or an ass. The figure holds a rosary in the left hand and the right is disposed in the act of exposition. It seems to represent the *Ṛigveda* itself. Epigraphic evidence shows that the Brāhmaṇas of both Āśvalāyana[2] and Śāṅkhāyana[3] *śākhās* of the *Ṛigveda* had the common *charaṇa* of Bahvṛich. We suggest that the main figure represents the *Ṛigveda* itself, while the two smaller figures bearing the same features as the central one and (each) holding a *daṇḍa*, stand for its two *śākhās*. The two trees, apart from their significance in the composition as forming a canopy, symbolise the sylvan surroundings of ancient *āśramas*. It is also not unlikely that what have been described as two trees are in fact meant for two *śākhās* (branches) of the tree providing an apt combination to the therianthropic representation of the two Vedic *śākhās*. Bahvṛich *charaṇa* also finds reference in certain epigraphs.[4]

Charaka-charaṇa

An oval clay seal from Rajghat, now in Bharat Kala Bhavan[5] shows a couchant bull with a crescent, solar stars in the upper field and the legend (*Cha*)*raka-charaṇa* in the lower (pl. XXVI,4).[6]

Charaka denotes a wandering ascetic[7] as well as an adherent of the school of *Kṛishṇa-Yajurveda*.[8] The present sealing, appears to have belonged to the latter. *Kṛishṇa-Yajurveda* was more popular in the South, and perhaps scholars from that part of the country came to study this Veda at Varanasi.[9]

Chhandoga Charaṇa

Several sealings from Rajghat, now in various museums and collections, bear the legend *Chhandoga* in Gupta characters. The sealings of this *charaṇa* that have hitherto come to our notice in various collections, together with those that have been published so far, are described in the table below :

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1. *Jayākhya-saṁhitā*, XII, 10, (p. 97), *Ṛigvedādyaṁ chatushkaṁ tu pītaṁ hayanarākṛitim.*
2. For Bahvṛich as a *charaṇa* of Āśvalāyana śākhā, see *EI*, V, pp. 212, line 13.
3. For Bahvṛich as a *charaṇa* of Śāṅkhāyana śākhā, see *EI*, VIII, p. 154.
4. For such references, see *JNSI*, XX, p. 196.
5. Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6356.
6. Cf. also *JNSI*, XX, p. 196, pl. XIII, 5.
7. E.g. in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.2.4. ; *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up.*, III.3.1.
8. The term *charaka* also occurs in a Nasik Inscription of Nahapāna (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 168) and the Allahabad Museum *Yūpa* Ins. (*EI*, XXIV, pp. 247ff). It is rather difficult to assert which of the two meanings is to be understood by it in these contexts. *Charaka* was also the name of Vaiśampāyana whose great pupils included Kaṭha and Kalāpin (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 409).
9. *JNSI*, XXIII, 409.

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Sl. No.	Collection	Antiquity No. or reference to Publication	Obverse device and legend	Reverse device and legend
1.	Allahabad Museum	61	*Chhandoga*	Crescent and a legend which is not clear.
2.	do	24	*Chhandoga*	*Chhandoga.*
3.	do	197	Bull	Four impressions: (i) the legend *Chhandoga*, (ii) *chakra*, (iii) *śaṅkha* and (iv) a figure of Gaṇeśa.
4.	do	180	Bull and the legend *Chhandoga*	Two impressions: (i) a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* and (ii) human figure pouring something in front of a tree-like object. Similar device has been identified by Dr. Pathak as a lady pouring flowers on a *śūchī*.[1]
5.	do	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 97.	do	The legend, *Chhandoga.*
6.	do	do	do	The legend, *Pālasena.*
7.	Bharat Kala Bhavan	*JNSI*, XX, p. 197, pl. XIII,6.	do	do
8.	do	204	do[2]	Blank

1. Cf. *JNSI*, XX, p. 197 (pl. XIII, 6) where a similar sealing is discussed. The sacred texts enjoin that after the sacrificial horse is killed, the three queens should puncture the carcass with *sūchī* (*Kāt. Śr. Sū.* XX, 7, 1, as quoted by Altekar in *CGE*, p. 66, *tisraḥ patnyoḥ'sipathān kalpayantyaśvasya sūchībhiḥ*). Dr. Motichandra, however, identifies this device as 'tall human figure' (*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 97).
2. Dr. Pathak has published a sealing bearing the same device but with the legend

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(Continued)				
9.	Bharat Kala Bhavan	*JNSI*, XX, p. 197, pl. XIII,7.	Bull and the legend *Chhandoga-charaṇa*	Blank
10.	do	*JNSI*, XX, p. 197, pl. XIII,7.	do	Blank
11. 12. 13.	do	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa* pp. 97-98.	? *Chhandoga*	Crescent, rosary, *amṛitaghaṭa*, staff and the legend *Yogeśvara-svāmī.*
14.	Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch., B. H. U.	425	Bull and the legend *Chhandoga*	A conventional *makara* (pl. XXVI, 7).
15.	do	430	do	Two impressions: (i) floral design (ii) the legend *Durga*? (*Durgā*?) (pl. XXVI, 8).
16.	do	432	do	do
17.	do	487	do	Two impressions: (i) vase and foliage (ii) the legend *Chhandoga* (pl. XXVI, 6).
18.	do	431	Two human figures and a bird	Three impressions: (i) the legend *Durga* (*Durgā*), (ii) *Chhandoga*, (iii) a lady with some object in hand and a rosette design.
19.	do	455	Female figure, etc.	Three impressions: (i) *Chhandoga*, (ii)

Chhandoga-charaṇa (*JNSI*, XX, p. 197). We are not sure whether in our notes we made an error of omission in the recording of the legend or else, our sealing is different.

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(*Continued*)

			similar to the second of the reverse on no. 4 above.	seated Gaṇeśa, (iii) the legend *Vishṇudāsa*(?) (pl. XXVI, 5).
20.	State Museum, Lucknow	49.194	Peacock and an indistinct object. The legend *Durga* (*Durgā*?).	Three impressions; one of which bears the legend *Chhandoga*.

Of these sealings one (no. 2) does not bear any device either on the obverse or the reverse. Another (no. 1) has no obverse device. Most of them bear the figure of a bull suggestive of Śaiva affiliations of the *charaṇa*. But Vaishṇava symbols—*śaṅkha* and *chakra*, the figure of Gaṇeśa, and the legend, perhaps meant to be read as *Durgā* occurring in association with the legend *Chhandoga*, show that the followers of this *charaṇa* were Smārtas. Further, the device on a few, if it has been correctly interpreted as a lady pouring flowers on a *sūchī*, shows a sacrificial scene connected with the *aśvamedha* sacrifice in which the queen also played an important part. Thus, these Chhandoga *charaṇa* sealings testify to a combination of the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions. Some of the legends appear to record personal names, probably of teachers of this *charaṇa*.

Chhandoga, a *charaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda*, was quite popular in ancient India as evinced by several epigraphic references to it.[1] It is interesting to note that *Sāmaveda* occurs as a legend on a Rajghat sealing now in the Lucknow Museum (pl. XXVII, 3)[2] and another from the same site in the Allahabad Museum (pl. XXVI, 9).[3] The epigraphic[4] and literary[5] references show

1. For references see *JNSI*, XX, p. 197.
2. It shows a crescent and the legend *Kirtisvāmi* on one side and three impressions respectively bearing the legends *Sāmaveda*, *Raya*(*ma*) and *Devasvāmi* on the other. Perhaps the legends (except *Sāmaveda*) record the names of the persons who were masters of this Veda.
3. Allahabad Museum, no. 199. It bears the figure of a bull and the legend *Sāmaveda* on one side and two impressions on the other side—one depicting a peacock and a legend, and another, a *chakra* and a legend.
4. The Chandravati Plates of Chandradeva : V. S. 1150 and 1156 (*EI*, XIV) refer to *Ṛigveda-charaṇa* (p. 202, no. 2), (*Yajurveda-charaṇa* p. 204, no. 126), *Atharva-charaṇa* (p. 205, no. 222). But it, however, has *Chhandoga-charaṇa* (p. 208, no. 421) and not *Sāmaveda-charaṇa*. In the Semra plates of Parmarddideva, likewise, we have *Ṛigveda-charaṇa* (*EI*, IV, p. 158) and *Yayu*(*ju*)*rvveda-charaṇa* (*ibid.*, p. 163).
5. Cf. Mahidāsa's commentary on *Charaṇavyūha* (pp. 1-2) as quoted in *JNSI*, XX, p. 195.

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that the *charaṇas* were, at times, named after the Vedas themselves.

Ātharvaṇika-charaṇa

A clay seal recently acquired in the excavations at Rajghat and now in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, B. H. U.,[1] has, in the centre, a haloed figure with the body of a man, the head of an animal, perhaps horse, standing facing, and with hands outstretched. The right hand seems to hold an object, perhaps a rosary, while the object in the left is blurred and difficult to be identified. The figure is flanked by a *triśūla-paraśu* on the right and *vajra* on the left. The figure and the *ghaṭas* are depicted on two-tiered elevation while the *triśūla-paraśu* and *vajra* are slightly above it. In the lower field occurs the legend, in Gupta characters, *Ātharvaṇika-charaṇa*[2] (pl. XXVI, 3). There are string-marks at the back suggesting that the sealing was affixed to some document.

In the delineation of the figure, the tradition recorded in the *Jayākhya-saṁhitā* (datable to the period of the sealing) that all the Vedas should be represented by a horse-and-man combination[3], seems to have been followed rather than the one recorded in Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* (a thirteenth century text) which lays down that the *Atharvaveda* figure should be monkey-faced (*markaṭānana*) and hold an *akshasūtra* and *khaṭvāṅga*.[4]

The two jars represent holy waters. The *triśūla-paraśu* shows Śaivite affiliations while the thunderbolt is the weapon *par excellence* of Indra—the great Vedic deity—and also associated with the Vedic Rudra.[5] The letters have south Indian features and the only epigraphic reference to this type comes from the Vidarbha region.[6] Dr. Pathak, after some discussion, shows

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1. No. 403.
2. There is a dot above the letter ṇa and the reading may be *charaṇaṁ*.
3. *Jayākhya-saṁhitā*. XII, 10, p. 97 ; *Supra*, p. 250, fn. 1. *Vide* Pathak, *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 216.
4. *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Vratakhaṇḍa*, *adhyāya* I, p. 105 :
   Atharvvaṇābhidho Vedo dhavalo markaṭānanaḥ,
   akshasūtrañcha khaṭvāṅgaṁ vibhraṇīyaṁ jayapriyaḥ.
   Dr. Pathak, who has recently published this sealing, has cited a verse from some other edition of this text, which says that it should hold a rosary in the right hand and a vase in the left—
   Atharvaṇika-vedo dhavalo markaṭānanaḥ,
   akshamālānvito dakshe vāme kumbhadharassmṛitaḥ.
   (*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 215).
5. See Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 103.
6. The Basim copper-plate of Vindhyaśakti (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 432). Cf. Pathak, *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 217. The palaeography of the letters on the seal, to a great extent, resembles that of letters on the copper-plate, though it lacks the box-headed feature of the latter.

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that the tradition relating to the iconographic representation of the *Atharva-veda* is mostly confined to the South and suggests that the present sealing came from the Brāhmaṇas of the Ātharvaṇika-*charaṇa* in the region south of the Vindhyas.[1]

Recently, the legend on a copper seal from Lachhagir (district Allahabad) has been read as *Sagalasya* and assigned to *circa* fifth century A. D.[2] The seal has been taken as belonging to *Śākala-charaṇa*. This, however, does not seem to be convincing as the reading is not beyond doubt, and Prakrit legend for a *charaṇa* seal of the Gupta period would rather be curious ; all other *charaṇa* seals invariably bear legends in Sanskrit.

Ancient authorities have enjoined that the Vedas should not be put to writing. However, the latter were not only written but were also represented iconically. It would have been a problem before the iconographers to give iconic form to the Vedas. A convenient way to do so would be to represent them in the form of a book and, in fact, it is in this way that they have been shown in one of the hands of Brahmā. As an independent icon, a figure with four faces symbolising the four Vedas would have been appropriate; but this iconography had already been assigned to Brahmā. Somehow, a therianthropic form was chosen.[3] The *Jayākhya-saṁhitā* which prescribes, that all the Vedas should be represented as part-horse and part-man, tends to indicate an early stage of the introduction of the iconic form of the Vedas in general. But, later on, the followers of a particular Veda wanted to represent that very Veda alone and, therefore, as is clear from the *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, different animals were chosen for providing human-animal combinations.[4]

Certain conclusions may be drawn from the study of these *charaṇa* sealings. All these have been found at Rajghat and are confined to the Gupta period. This shows that Varanasi, so well-known as a religious, cultural and trade centre, was celebrated for Vedic learning during the Gupta age. They provide early iconographic delineations of the Vedas. The

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1. See *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 216-18.
2. Tripathi, *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 26-27.
3. The human-animal combination is met with in the iconography of some other deities as well.
4. The choice of horse in this human-animal combination is understandable since the animal played a very important part in the life of the Vedic Āryans. As regards the ass-head, it may be noted that this feature is met with in the case of some Rāvaṇa figures.

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Paramabhāgavata Gupta kings, some of whom also performed Vedic sacrifices, gave a great stimulus to the Vedic studies. Their non-continuance in later times is suggestive of a decline in Vedic scholarship, a fact corroborated from other sources.[1] They bear Vedic, Śaiva and also Vaishṇava devices. On a single lump are shown a Śaiva bull, Vaishṇava *śaṅkha* and *chakra* and the Vedic scene connected with the *aśvamedha* sacrifice (no. 4 of the table of Chhandoga sealings). The unavoidable conclusion is that they show a rapprochement between the Vedic and *āgamic* traditions. This, of course, is a characteristic feature of Purāṇic Hinduism and is very well corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[2] The Vaishṇava devices have been taken to suggest that some of the teachers were Vaishṇavas but the legend *Yogeśvarasvāmi* might indicate that the school was attached to a Śiva temple.[3]

If the numerical strength be taken as an index to popularity, the Chhandoga, largest in number, seems to have been the most popular followed by the Bahvṛich which has five. The Ātharvaṇika and the Charaka *charaṇas*, with one each, do not seem to have been much popular.

Agrahāra

Kings in ancient India used to invite learned Brāhmaṇas and establish them in villages, assigning to them revenues thereof for their maintenance. Such villages were called *agrahāras*.[4] The grants enabled the Brāhmaṇas to devote all their time to learning and teaching. A special Government officer, *agrahārika*, looked after the privileges of the grantees against infringement.[5]

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1. See *JNSI*, XX, p. 198 and fn.
2. The *Paramabhāgavata* Gupta kings performed Vedic horse-sacrifices. The Barnala Jaipur *Yūpa* Ins. mentions the *Gargātirātra* sacrifice for the pleasure of Vishṇu (*EI*, XXVI, pp. 121-28). The Allahabad Kosam *Yūpa* Ins. refers to the sacrifice performed for the blessings of Maheśvara and donations for an alms-house attached to a Śiva temple for the *Charakas* (*EI*, XXIV, p. 251). Cf. also *JNSI*, XX, p. 199.
3. See Motichandra, *Kāśi kā Itihāsa*, p. 98.
4. Many epigraphs of Gupta-Vardhana period refer to them, e. g. *CII*, III, nos. 22 (p. 104) ; 23 (pp. 107-08) ; 27 (p. 123) ; 42 (p. 206) ; 43 (p. 210) ; 60 (p. 257) ; 80 (p. 289) ; *EI*, VII, I, p. 73.
5. Their main privileges were that they were exempted from paying taxes to the state; the villagers were to pay the dues (which they had been paying to the state) to the donees. Their rights and privileges were usually respected but, sometimes, were also violated. For instance, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII, 898), there is a reference to the Brāhmaṇas of an *agrahāra* resorting to fast when the officers of the state violated their rights. It

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Nalanda has yielded a few *agrahāra* sealings. No. S. I, 352 has a squatting figure and the legend in one line *Veraṇāvatāyāgrahārasya.*[1] It is not clear which community of the Brāhmaṇas received this *agrahāra.* Uncertainty also remains in the case of the Chundīraka *agrahāra* mentioned in one of the seven impressions on a lump from the same site.[2] Sealing no. S. I, 917 also refers to an *agrahāra.*[3] No. S. I, 830 is extremely fragmentary but the letters preserved suggest that it belonged to an *agrahāra.*[4] Similarly, the legend on one of the impressions on no. S. I, 673 ends in *agrahāra.*[5]

Some of the sealings referring to the *agrahāras* belonged to the *traividyas.* No. S. I, 782[6] shows a corpulent male seated on a lotus above two horizontal lines below which there is a legend in one line reading [*Vaṇṭāgra*]*vāṭakāg-rahāra-traividya*[*sya*], '[seal] of the *traividya* of the *agrahāra* of Vaṇṭāgravāṭaka'. No. S. I, 791[7] shows a corpulent male, seated cross-legged under a canopy of serpent-hoods and bears a *liṅga* and a tree. Over the *liṅga* is a symbol which either represents a conventionalised *triśūla* or *chhatra.* The legend, in characters of *circa* sixth century A. D., reads :

1. *Śrī-Pūrik-āgrahāre*
2. *Śrīmat-traividyasya*

No. S. I, 350[8] shows, in the upper field, a male figure with a prominent abdomen seated on a lotus seat and wearing heavy ear-rings, and a crescent to the right and a solar orb to left. The figure holds a rosary in the right hand and a narrow-necked spouted vessel in the left. Below is a legend in *circa* sixth or seventh century A. D. characters reading

1. *Bhallāṭavāṭakāgrahāre*(*śa*)
2. *Śrīmat-traividyasya*

'[seal] of the illustrious *traividya*, the chief of the *agrahāra* of Bhallāṭavāṭaka'.

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is because of this that sometimes the soldiers and the policemen were debarred from entering an *agrahāra* (e. g. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 433, *abhaḍa-ppāvesa* ; see also *ibid.*, p. 434, fn. 1).

1. *MASI*, 66, p. 56, pl. IV, e.
2. *Ibid.*, no. S. I, 673, p. 55, fn. 3, pl. VI, i ; the device on it shows a goddess with a child in her lap flanked by a serpent on either side.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 55, pl. VI, i, middle impression.
6. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 56, pl. VII, b.
7. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 56, pl. IV, f.
8. *Ibid.*, 66, p. 56, pl. VII, c.

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The Brāhmaṇas of these *agrahāras*, or their predecessors, must have received these as grants from the rulers of the land for their maintenance and we can safely presume that they were devoted to their duties (*svadharma*) which included both study (*adhyayana*) and teaching (*adhyāpana*). Such *agrahāra* villages inherited, preserved, increased and transmitted learning and served as havens of religion and culture.

Traividya

We have described above the seals of the *traividyas* who resided in *agrahāras*. There are certain *traividya* and *chāturvidya* sealings which do not mention *agrahāras*. Either the Brāhmaṇas did not reside therein or the fact was not considered worth mention.

A clay lump from Jhusi and now in the Allahabad Museum[1] shows a human figure (*āchārya*?) on a lotus seat and bears the legend *traividyasya* in Gupta characters. The same legend, together with the figure of Brahmā(?) seated on a lotus occurs on a sealing from village Kaharahar (District, Pratapgarh) and is now in the collection of the Department of Archaeology, Uttar Pradesh Government, Lucknow (pl. XXIII, 6). A sealing recently unearthed in the excavations at Indrapat (Purana Qila, New Delhi) and now in the collection of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, bears a spear-like device and the legend *Śrī-traividya* in Gupta characters.[2]

A Nalanda sealing (no. S. I, 691) shows a haloed two-armed and three-faced corpulent, divine male figure, probably Brahmā, on a lotus seat. He carries a rosary in the right hand and a spouted vessel in the left. In the lower field is the following legend in *circa* seventh century characters :

1. *Śrīman-navaka(rmmaṭhānām(?))*
2. *traividya*[3]

Sastri thus translates the legend: 'of the *traividya* of the famous *Navakarmaṭhas*, those who were clever in superintending'.[4] Another sealing of *circa* seventh or eighth century shows a three-faced deity, very possibly Brahmā, with the legend : *Mrakshakalpake traividya Brāhmaṇa*.[5]

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1. No. 373.
2. Information from Shri M. C. Joshi.
3. *MASI*, 66, p. 55, pl. VII, a. The reading of the first line is doubtful.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 55. It is difficult to say if Nava-karmaṭha could be the name of a locality.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55, pl. VI, h. Sastri read the legend differently but see editor's note (*ibid.*, p. 55).

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Chāturvidya

Two *chāturvidya* sealings have been found in Cutch and ascribed to the Gupta period.[1] The one found in the ruins to the north of village Vinjhana bears a figure of Brahmā with rosary in the right hand and a gourd in the left. The legend runs:

Śrī-Piśācha-chāturvvidya[sya][2]

Diskalkar translates the legend as '(Seal) of Piśācha, learned in four Vedas'. The name *Piśācha* for one who was a master of four Vedas would rather be curious.[3] It is not unlikely that Śrī Piśācha was the name of the locality or village. The other comes from a village Patagadh, 6 miles east of Lakpak. It shows a bull sitting to left, with a bow without string and a gourd on either side; the legend reads:

1. *Shu(su)manamukhavo(vi)nirggata*
2. *Vī(Vi)dheyapuraśri(Śrī)chātu*
3. *rvvidyasya*[4]

Diskalkar opines that the arrangement of the letters should be *Vidheyapura-vinirggata-śrī-Sumanomukha-chāturvvidyasya* and this would indicate that the seal was of a *chāturvidya*, named Sumanomukha hailing from Vidheyapura.[5] However, the legend, as it is, indicates that the seal beloged to the illustrious *chāturvidya* (community) of Vidheyapura which had migrated from Sumanomukha. Perhaps this migration of the Brāhmaṇas was the result of getting a new village as grant-in-aid (*agrahāra*).

The figure of the bull indicates Śaiva leanings of the Brāhmaṇas. The bow is also associated with Śiva (Pināki) and the gourd with medicants (*sanyāsīs*).

Certain sealings from Nalanda bear, in their upper half, two male figures

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1. Diskalkar, *IHQ*, II, p. 157. Strangely enough, Diskalkar describes the characters as Gupta type but assigns the seal to the 8th century A. D. In the absence of illustration, nothing can be said with certainty.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
3. Instances of even kings and high dignitaries with names like Śūdraka, Bhikshāchara, and Rākshasa are, however, to be met with.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
5. *Ibid.* It is difficult to agree with Diskalkar when he says that Vidheyapura appears to be identical with Yaudheyapura, a town named after the Yaudheyas. It may be a corrupt form of Videhapura.

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seated on either side of a tree. Each holds a slender long-necked vessel in one hand and a rosary in the other. Below is the legend *Rājagṛihe chāturvidya*[1] (pl. XXVII, 5). A clay sealing from Rajghat in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[2] has a couchant bull on a pedestal in the upper field and the legend in *circa* fifth century A. D. characters, reading *Śrī-chāturvidya* (pl. XXVII, 2).[3] Another from the same site and in the Allahabad Museum[4] has a bull in the upper field and the legend *Śrīmachchāturvidya* (pl. XXVII, 1).[5]

Agrawala, on the basis of *chāturvidya* sealings from Rajghat, thinks that there was a college at Varanasi for the study of the four Vedas attached to the religious establishment called *Chāturvedeśvara* in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*.[6] Fostering of educational institutions by religious establishments has been a constant feature in the country throughout the ages. The term *chāturvidya* also occurs in epigraphs of the Gupta[7] and the post-Gupta[8] periods. It would be more reasonable to interpret the terms *traividya* and *chāturvidya* as referring to proficiency in three or four Vedas rather than in the three or four *vidyās*.[9] In later times, their variants *Trivedī* and *Chaturvedī*, which were earlier indicative of their proficiency in three or four Vedas,[10] like other such honorifics (*upādhis*), became hereditary surnames, irrespective of any proficiency in the field of learning.

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 49, nos. S. I, 648, 806, pl. V g. Sastri's reading, *Rājagṛiha Chāturvaidya*, has been corrected by the editor of the *Memoir* (*ibid.*, p. 49, fn.). See also *JNSI*, XII, p. 178.
2. No. 6309.
3. Perhaps the same as published in *JNSI*, XX, p. 199, pl. XII,3. However, the legend therein has been read as *Chāturvedya* but the plate shows that it is *Chāturvidya*.
4. No. R. G. 29.
5. Agrawala refers to a sealing from Rajghat with identical device, but its legend has been read by that learned scholar as *Śrī Sarvvatravidya* which he equates with *Sarvavidya* and interprets it as belonging to an institution imparting knowledge in all branches of learning (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 410). Very possibly, it is identical with the one described above, the *chcha* and *tu* being read by that learned scholar as *rvva* and *tra* respectively.
6. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 410.
7. E. g. Poona Copper-plate of Prabhāvatiguptā (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 435ff, at p. 437); Indore Ins. of Skandagupta (*ibid.*, pp. 318ff., at p. 319).
8. E. g. *CII*, III, no. 39, p. 179. For other references, see *JNSI*, XX, p. 199.
9. Vedas and *Vidyās* are sometimes taken in an identical sense. The book in the hand of Brahmā figures represents Vedas, he being their creator; but the iconographic texts say that he should hold *vidyās*. Sarasvatī is the goddess of all the *vidyās* but is called *Vedamātā*. We are grateful to Prof. S. K. Saraswati for pointing these facts to us.
10. In some cases, the epithets of the persons belonging to successive generations varied. The Semra plates of Parmarddideva Chandella mentions *Chau(be)* Gautama, son of *Dvi(vedī)* Avasara (*EI*, IV, pp. 153ff.).

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Our sealings testify to the existence of communities which specialised in the study of three or four Vedas. They do not mention those which specialised in one or two Vedas (*Ekavedīs* and *Dvivedīs*). The latter are known from other sources[1] and even to-day *Dvivedī* as a hereditary surname is not uncommon. Those who mastered only one Veda were mentioned after that Veda.[2]

Apart from their value as sources of information regarding the existence of learned Brāhmaṇa communities in ancient India whose welfare was often adequately looked after by the state through grants-in-aid, the sealings are also interesting inasmuch as some bear the figure of Brahmā revealing his pristine prestige in the field of Vedic learning. It is well-known that this god was not destined to be a popular cult-deity in the *Āgamic* pantheon. Varāhamihira enjoins that the images of Brahmā should be consecrated by the Brāhmaṇas well versed in the Vedas.[3]

Magadha was the cradle of Buddhism and it is interesting to note that Brāhmaṇa communities flourished in that region and communicated with Nalanda, the great centre of Buddhist learning. Perhaps these seals were sent by the learned Brāhmaṇas to scholars at Nalanda with letters dealing with some philosophic or academic matters.

Parishad

A sealing from Basarh bears the legend *Udanakūpe pari[shadaḥ]* in Gupta characters.[4] In ancient India, wehnever a fair number of teachers or learned scholars settled at one place they generally formed a *parishad* in which people discussed academic matters and also settled ecclesiastical disputes.[5] Ancient authorities generally favour that the *pairshad* should

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1. See *supra*, p. 260, fn. 10 and fn. 2 below.
2. The Chandravati Plates of Chandradeva (*EI*, XIV), has *Śrī Ṛigvedacharaṇe chaturvedin* (p. 202, no. 2), *Śrī Yajurveda charaṇe chaturvedin* (p. 204, no. 126), *Śrī Chhandoga charaṇe tripaṁti* (*Tripāṭhī*) (p. 208, no. 421) and *Śrī Atharvaveda charaṇe dvivedin* (p. 205, no. 222). Obviously, the Brāhmaṇas originally mastered one Veda which became their original *charaṇa*, and then, at least some, studied other Vedas as well and were designated as *Chaturvedīs*, *Trivedīs* and *Dvivedīs*, according to their mastery of four, three or two Vedas.
3. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, 60.19.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 24, pl. XL.
5. In the *Dharmasūtras*, the *parishad* is mainly concerned with learning and teaching but in the *Smṛitis* more with law-making than with learning. Pāṇini has it that the same *parishad* performed social, academic and political functions (*vide*, Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 399).

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comprise at least ten persons[1], though a smaller number is regarded sufficient in cases of necessity.[2] The qualifications of the members of a *parished* as mentioned in ancient texts clearly reveal the importance of Vedic study and also that specialization in such study had begun in very early times. The learned Brāhmaṇas forming a *parishad* would also have attracted students and thus a nucleus of an educational institution was formed.

Temple seals

We have discussed earlier[3] several seals of temples such as those of Avimukteśvara, Gabhastīśvara, Yogeśvara, Pītakeśvara, Kalaśeśvara, Lolakāditya, etc., and may justifiably surmise that many of these, like some of their modern counterparts at Varanasi, had schools attached to them. It were primarily such institutions which were responsible for making Varanasi an important centre of Brahmanical learning. In India, education in the distant past, was generally imparted by the *guru* in his own *āśrama* and the system of temple-cum-educational institutions was quite possibly the result of Brahmanical reaction to Buddhist monsteries which were fast growing into centres of learning.

BUDDHISTIC SEALS

The importance of Buddhist monasteries as centres of learning and education is too well-known. Beginning with the establishment of a few in Northern India during the life-time of the Buddha himself, the monasteries, in subsequent centuries, became important centres of education though, primarily, they confined themselves to only theological and philosophical learning. Literary evidence from the records of the Chinese pilgrims bears testimony to the fact that many of these were organised on sectarian lines with a preponderance of *bhikshus* of some particular sect dwelling therein. Such monastic seals have been discussed earlier (chapter IV) and a general reference to them in the context of education and learning would suffice here.

Nalanda

The *Nālandā Mahāvihāra* seals, sometimes giving the names of their founders[4], are generally combined with the seals of the villages[5]—perhaps

1. For various references, see Keay, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*, p. 44.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
3. See Chapter IV.
4. *MASI*, 66, pp. 38 and 41.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

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those granted to the *mahāvihāra*, and bear the wheel-and-deer symbol which became a general conceptual device for imparting knowledge,[1] are indeed numerous.

Nalanda, as a monastery-cum-university establishment, was patronised by several kings and is too well-known to merit detailed description. Its widely spread fame, strict rules of admission, large number of teachers and the taught, eminent scholars of high attainments, character and devotion to learning, numerous daily lectures, cosmopolitan outlook in imparting instruction in Buddhistic as well as non-Buddhistic doctrines, its patronage by several kings and its magnificent buildings have been recorded by Hiuen-tsang at great length.[2] I-tsing, too, provides a graphic account of its towering buildings and a rich library. So famous was this centre of learning that students from all over India and abroad came to study there. In order to command respect, people sometimes even stole the name of 'Nalanda brethren'.[3] Excavations at the site have brought to light several imposing edifices, thus corroborating, to some extent, the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims.

Other Buddhist Centres

The *Mahāparinirvāṇa* monastery[4] at Kasia (ancient Kuśīnārā), an important centre of pilgrimage, must also have been a worthy centre of learning. Kauśāmbī, with its famous Ghoshitārāma monastery,[5] was another important seat of learning. Its monks visited other countries.[6] As shown above[7] its destruction was caused by the Hūṇa invasion. The monastic settlement at Sarnath[8] must also have greatly contributed to the cause of learning. Hiuen-tsang attests to the well-preserved buildings at Sarnath and approximates the number of monks to 1000[9] or 1500[10] belong-

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1. The *Dulva* (X. 11,12), as quoted by Marshall (*Taxila*, II, p. 640), prescribes that the seal of a monk should bear this device together with the name of the founder of the *vihāra*.
2. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, pp. 105-113; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 164-171.
3. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 165.
4. *Supra*, pp. 210-12.
5. *Supra*, pp. 209-10.
6. *Mahāvaṁsa*, (PTS), p. 228.
7. *Supra*. p. 210.
8. *Supra*, pp. 207-09.
9. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 48.
10. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 98.

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ing to the *Sammatiya* school.[1] Varanasi had been a great centre of learning throughout the ages and this might have prompted the Buddha to choose Sarnath, a suburb of that great seat of learning, for preaching his First Sermon. The accounts of Hiuen-tsang, referred to above[2], speak of more than twenty monasteries and about two thousand monks who were followers of *sammatiya* school at *Raktamṛittikā mahāvihāra*. The *Bhishaka-vihāra*[3] and the *Ārogya-vihāra*[4] of the Rajghat and Kumrahar sealings respectively were monasteries with provisions for medical aid, and it is not unlikely that some sort of medical education was also imparted in these *vihāras*.

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1. It appears that during the visit of Hiuen-Tsiang Varanasi was a more flourishing Buddhist centre than Sarnath itself since the pilgrim noticed thirty *saṅghārāmas* and three thousand *bhikshus* belonging to the *Sammatiya* school (Watters, *op., cit.*, II, p. 47). In Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, (p. 98), the number of *bhikshus* is given as two thousand.
2. *Supra*. pp. 215-16.
3. *Supra*, pp. 214-15.
4. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER VII

ART AND ART MOTIFS

In general, the artistic quality of seals and sealings of the historic period is not of so high an order as that of their celebrated proto-historic Harappan counterparts. Some, however, bear ample testimony to the fact that, even during the period under review, the creative genius of the seal-maker could turn glyptics into masterpieces of art representations. For artistic appraisal of seals, it would be convenient to discuss a few selected ones individually and then assess the general style of the motifs depicted and their artistic merit.

An interesting greyish fragmentary sealing from Musanagar (District Kanpur) in the Lucknow Museum (pl. XXXI, 10)[1] shows in high relief two bulls standing beside each other and facing right. The one in the foreground covers much of the second figure and is shown either in a belligerant mood or rubbing its head against a tree-trunk with the tail slightly raised, suggesting excitement. There are some marks on the back of the bull recalling to mind the saddles on the backs of some of the animals delineated on the Harappan seals. The other bull stands placidly.

Two domical objects, one in between the fore and hind legs and another between the two hind legs are unidentifiable. There appears another animal figure on the left of the two bull figures.[2] There is a groove at the back suggesting that the specimen was used for sealing something.

A comparison of this sealing with its counterparts of the historic period tends to show that there is hardly any similarity between the two. On the other hand, some similarity may be noticed between the bull and tree of the present one and some of its Harappan counterparts.[3]

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1. Lucknow Museum, no. 55.258. The extant portion measures 4 cms. in length and 3.5 cms. in width at the maximum points. The original size, however, is a matter of conjecture. We have also discussed this sealing in *Purātattva*, No. 2, pp. 57-58.
2. It is tempting to identify the animal figure as jackal and read in the scene the *Pañchatantra* story of a jackal creating dissension between two bulls which ultimately led to their destruction.
3. For the bull in the foreground, Marshall, *MIC*, III, pl. no. 323 ; Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, II, pl. XCIV, no. 399 ; for the bull in the background,

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It is tempting to ascribe the sealing to the proto-historic period on stylistic grounds. It may be recollected that the finding of a few such seals in India has been startling inasmuch as they have been treated as links between India on the one hand and Babylonia and Crete on the other.[1] Now when the Harappan culture has been traced in Uttar Pradesh,[2] a seal suggestive of proto-historic affinities from Kanpur District would hardly appear startling, specially when some antiquities from that site are datable to the proto-historic period.[3] However, the possibility of its being a rare example of early historic period after proto-historic art-traditions cannot be ruled out.

The very mode of depicting the two bulls in perspective—one in the foreground and another in the background—is a proof of the remarkable skill and understanding on the part of the artist rarely met with on the seals of the historic period. The belligerent mood of the bull in the foreground provides a good contrast to the placidity of the other. The bull figure has been carved in high relief in contrast to the tree which has been done in low. The two small dome-shaped depictions balance the composition by filling the empty space while the tree and its branches provide a nice border on the top and right.[4] The sealing is remarkable for a skilled depiction of the bulls as well as of the tree either individually or in composition as a whole.

Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, II, pl. XCI, 241 and 245; for tree and animal figure similarly disposed, Marshall, *MIC*, pl. CXI, no. 352. For tree alone, *ibid.*, pl. XCII, no. 3 (painted on pottery); Vats, *op. cit.*, II, XCIII, 327, 328; Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, II, pl. XCI, no. 4A.

1. E.g. the cylinder seal in Central Museum, Nagpur, datable to *circa* 2000 B.C. (Subbor, *JASB*, (*NS.*), X, (II) 1914, pp. 461-63, figs. 1-3) and a cylinder seal from Maski (Thapar, *AI*, No. 13, 1957, pp. 9, 21, 24 and pl. XVII B) point to Indo-Mesopotamian contacts while a button-seal unearthed recently from Pandu Rajar Dhibi (West Bengal) has been taken to suggest Indo-Cretan contacts in the second millennium B.C. (Ridley, *Seal of Aetea and the Minoan Scripts*, (the pages have not been numbered).
2. The Harappan culture has been traced at Alamgirpur (District Meerut) and even further east and Harappan traits have been suspected even at Kauśāmbī.
3. E.g. a neolithic tool (in Lucknow Museum) and the Painted Grey ware (*IAR*, 1967-68, p. 47). Tradition also speaks of the hoary antiquity of the site. It asserts that the temple Muktādevī on the site was built in the *Tretā yuga* (*vide* Nevill, *Cawnpore, A Gazetteer*, Vol. XIX of the Distt. Gazetteers, 1909, p. 313). It is interesting that in the Museum records, the present sealing has been ascribed to '*c.* 5th or 4th century B. C.' (*Consolidated Report on the Working of the State Museum*, 1960, p. 194).
4. On the branch above the bull hang not only leaves but also flower (or fruit) which apparently gives the impression of Brāhmī letter *ma*.

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A circular terracotta sealing in the Lucknow Museum, bearing the Brāhmī legend *yakhadāna* in characters of *circa* third or second century B. C. portrays four animals—a bull and a horse facing each other in the upper part, and a lion and an elephant similarly disposed in the lower (pl. XXXI, 4).[1] The bull is shown stepping forward, swaying the head sideways, and the horse, with its forelegs raised, is prancing; the lion is depicted in a charging attitude while the trunk of the elephant is raised. The four are full of spirit and movement.

These animals are frequently represented individually or variously combined with others on seals, ringstones, coins and in terracotta, paintings, and sculpture. But what is unusually striking is that they are similarly grouped on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital,[2] in the terracotta plaque in the Central Museum, Lahore,[3] on the moonstones from Nagarjunikonda[4] and Anuradhapur (Ceylon)[5] and on a steatite plaque from Akra.[6] Literary evidence, too, refers to these animals together besides their individual inclusion in other groups as well.[7]

In the context of the Sarnath Lion Capital, these animals were interpreted as (i) purely ornamental,[8] or (ii) related to certain events of prime importance in the life of the Buddha,[9] or (iii) as theriomorphic representations of Brahmanic deities subordinated to Buddhism[10] or (iv) representing the four quarters of the world.[11]

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1. No. S. 609. We have also discussed this sealing in *Purātattva*, No. 1, pp. 90-92.
2. See *JUPHS(NS)*, VIII, 1960, pp. 11-19 and pl.; Agrawala, *Wheel Flag of India, Chakradhvaja.*
3. Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, p. 40.
4. Agrawala, *Wheel Flag of India, Chakradhvaja*, 1964, figs. 101-104.
5. Gordine, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 123, pls. X and XI.
6. Agrawala, *Wheel Flag of India, Chakradhvaja*, fig. 93A.
7. For various literary and archaeological references, see Agrawala, *ibid.*, pp. 60-63 and 93 and plates.
8. Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, p. 40.
9. Majumdar, *Guide to Sarnath*, p. 46. The elephant is supposed to symbolise Conception, bull, Nativity, horse, Renunciation, and the lion, the Buddha himself (Śākya-siṁha).
10. Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, p. 40.
11. The last view is supported by some substantial evidence such as the discovery of metallic images of these animals facing cardinal points in a bronze casket sealed up in a laterite plinth of a small temple at Kedah in Malaya (Wales, *JRAS*, 1946, pp. 142 ff., at p. 145), and of bronze figures of these animals in Ceylon facing the same points (Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 1911, p. 18, fn. 2). They are attached to a tank as gargoyles in ancient Khmer capital of Angkor (Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, p. 258, fn. 12) and their images embellish the artifical Meru Parvata

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In fact, these were held in very high esteem from remote antiquity. They represented an age-old and widespread tradition and, like numerous symbols and motifs, were the common heritage of various cults interpreted by them in their own ways. The bearing of this tablet on the Yaksha cult has been discussed above.[1]

The tablet is a rare example among the glyptics of the historic period whereon as many as four animals have been represented together.[2] The depiction of four animals on a small clay seal, so remarkably life-like and with a strong suggestion of rhythmic movement, bears ample testimony to the skill and high artistic refinement of the craftsman. Mauryan sculptures in stone are, of course, celebrated for their dignity and majesty, but the present tablet is a rare piece of that early period in the medium of clay, remarkable for the realism of its figures and the suggestion of animal vigour.

A thin oval fragmentary copper seal from Jhusi,[3] datable, on stylistic grounds, to *circa* first century B. C., is a masterpiece of technical skill inasmuch as it brings out many details in a very restricted field. It has two figures, a royal personage or high dignitary and an umbrella bearer, standing. The former, in accordance with the Indian art-tradition, is shown taller than the attendant. Behind the figures is a structure, perhaps a temple with a pinnacle and an archway. In the lower panel, divided from the upper by something like a parapet wall, are shown, perhaps, the very same persons in a chariot drawn by horses. Possibly the scene represents a royal personage visiting some shrine—a theme very common in early Buddhist art.

A seal in the Indian Museum (pl. I, 3 a-d) is unique for its artistic shape. Viewing through its thickness, we see the forepart of a lion; its width gives out a shape of *nandipada* while the face bearing the inscription *Aśvilasya in circa* first century A.D. characters, is leaf-shaped. This is the only seal of its type and amply speaks for the artistic imagination on the part of the seal-maker, showing that the Indian seal-maker could, at times, rise above the humdrum conventional shapes and produce excellent artistic masterpieces.

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in Bangkok (*ibid.*, p. 41). These animals have also been associated with the four mouths of the Anavatapta Lake (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 32).

1. *Supra*, p. 198.
2. Cf. a sealing from Taxila showing a bearded man, ducks, a stag and a serpent (Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 682, no. 43 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 207, 31). Such representations, however, are met with on the Harappan seals (see, e.g. Marshall, *MIC*, I, pl. XII, fig. 17; *ibid.*, III, pl. CXVI, no. 14).
3. *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, 1961, pp. 11-12, pl. IV fig. 1 (top left).

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Mention may also be made to a seal from Kauśāmbī (pl. 1, 2) in the Allahabad Museum[1] on which the artist has engraved a device on each of its six faces—on top surface an arrow mark, on the bottom surface a taurine flanked by a vertical stroke on either side and on four sides respectively a *jayadhvaja*, a *svastika*, a steel-yard and a taurine—each within a semicircle.

The crystal intaglio of *Mahārāja* Avarighsa in the British Museum[2] is remarkable for its fine execution and artistic excellence. Part of the body is shown in three-quarter-profile while the face is in the full.[3] The figure wears a *dhotī*, *uttarīya* and diadem and ornaments on neck, ears, wrists and arms. The figure conforms to the ideal of Indian male beauty[4]; muscles of the body have been shown in very naturalistic fashion, which mode of depiction is more characterstic of Hellenic than Indian art. The diadem is also exotic. The intaglio is, undoubtedly, unmatched in ancient India as an excellent example of royal portraiture.

Some sealings bearing Indo-Bactrian and Roman coin-devices (pl. XXXV) are really masterpieces—both portraiture and mythological representations being Hellenistic. Their execution and workmanship is refined, chaste and elegant.

The treatment of Śiva on the seal of Śivarakshita from Taxila is also Hellenistic as a whole, though the loin-cloth and turban are Indian.[5] The combination of Hellenistic and Indian art-trends at Taxila, the centre of Gandhāra art, is quite natural.

Two circular sealings from Sunet (District Ludhiana),[6] one in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (pl. XXX, 4) and the other in the Lucknow Museum (pl. XXX, 8),[7] bear identical devices.

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1. Allahabad Museum, no. K.319.
2. Sircar, *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 275-84; *supra*, p. 46.
3. Sircar points out that the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (ed. by Kramrisch, pp. 9, 45) refers to this mode of depiction.
4. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, 1.13, *vyūḍhorasko vṛishaskandhaḥ śāla-prāṁśurmahā-bhujaḥ*, see Sircar, *EI*, XXXVI, p. 276.
5. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pl. XXIV, no. 51; *supra*, pp. 51-52.
6. Indian Museum, no. A11306-NS9143.
7. Lucknow Museum, no. S2404. The provenance of the Lucknow Museum sealing is not known; but, since the Indian Museum specimen comes from Sunet, the former, too, should be ascribed to the same site. The sealings have also been discussed by us in *Roopa Lekha*, XXXVII, pp. 30-32.

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The device shows a lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose beside a blossoming tree, her hand entwined around one of the branches and dangling in a languorous posture. The right hand comes down with graceful and natural ease while a bird is shown pecking at a flower held in it. The right leg is straight, while the left bent at the knee, crosses the right from behind—danseuse-like fashion—and rests with ease on toes. She wears bangles on her hands and anklets on her legs. The tree branches out stylstically and the flowers are so arranged as to create an appearance of a border design. The figure is full of youthful vigour and charm. The head tilts to the left and breasts are prominent and full, the hips are heavy and the waist slender. Apparently the figure seems naked though the possibility of its wearing diaphanous drapery, commonly depicted in the art of the Gupta period to reveal the charm of the female body, cannot be ruled out. The sealing exudes the touch of Gupta classicism in the depiction of a female figure, every part of her body conforming to the ideals of feminine beauty as described in classical literature.[1] The sealing shows a rare combination of the conventional woman-and-tree and woman-and-bird motifs. One popular mode of depicting the former was the *śālabhañjikā* pose, showing a standing lady, bending the branch of a tree.[2] Our figure, however, is neither shown bending a branch nor embracing the tree—a characteristic feature of numerous figures from Bharhut, Mathura, etc. The left arm, no doubt, is put around a branch but the feeling one gets is that it just rests on it naturally.[3]

The woman-and-bird motif was also quite popular in ancient Indian

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1. E.g. *Meghadūta*, II, 21.

2. *Śālabhañjikā* was a favourite game of ladies played in ancient India at the time when *śāla* trees were in full blossom (*Kāśikā* on *Pāṇinīya*, VI, 2, 74). It was symbolic of the desires and hopes of a young woman to bear children, pure and gay as the *śāla* blossoms. Later, it turned into a popular art-motif. The game, as such, receded in the background but the woman and tree continued to be favourites with Indian artists. In course of time, any statue, even without a tree, came to be labelled as *śālabhañjikā*.

3. The posture of the leg, may, suggest as if she is about to impart a kick to the trees—a characteristic feature of the *dohada* motif. Cf. Mallinātha's Commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, II, 17, *strīṇāṁ sparśāt priyaṅgurvikasati, pādāghāṭādaśokaḥ*. Roth (*JASB*, XXIII, p. 104) points out that other terms used for *śālabhañjikā* motif are *māḍa-mālikā* and *ḍāla-mālikā* mentioned in the *Aparājitapṛichchhā* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, no. CXV, Boroda, 1950, p. 216, *vide* Roth in *JASB*, XXIII, no. 1, 1957, p. 104) and the *Śilparatna* (verses 420-423, *vide ibid.*, p. 104) respectively. After a long discussion he concludes that the underlying concept of this motif was that the woman was depicted as if she wears a garland 'flowing into the tree' (*ibid.*, p. 107).

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art. There are, no doubt, variations in the delineation of this motif. In an interesting and closely datable early historic terracotta example from Hastinapur, we find a lady holding a parrot in her hand.[1] The same mode of depiction is found in a bronze signet of a slightly later date published by Rapson.[2] A very near parallel to this is found in the female figure feeding a peacock on the reverse on the Elephant-rider-lion-slayer type of coins of Kumāragupta I.[3]

From the mundane point of view, the figure might well be taken as that of a forest nymph, a courtesan,[4] or an aristocratic lady sporting in her pleasure garden.[5] We have, however, preferred to identify the figure with Pārvatī.[6] Whatever be the correct identification of the composition, the small-sized sealing shows a charming female figure exquisitely executed, a tree in full blossom and a finely carved bird, each pleasing and graceful by itself and equally so when viewed as a composite whole.

A sealing from Sanghol in the collection of Shri G. B. Sharma bears the device of an elephant trampling upon a lion (pl. XVI, 1).[7] The artist has skilfully portrayed the figure of the elephant in such a way that the whole body has been represented sideways while the face is three-fourth profile. The various parts of the body—the fan-like ears, the tusks, the entwined trunk, the short and raised tail—all are depicted with characteristic realism. The animal, as a whole is robust and appears full of life and vigour. The lion being pressed under the leg of the elephant is shown as if screaming full-mouthed in agony, its tongue lolling out.[8]

The two animals have since remote antiquity been regarded as embodiments of might and majesty, kingliness and nobility. These, together with a horse and bull, appear in a group on several art examples.[9] But representa-

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1. In late levels of Period III datable to *c.* 600-200 B. C. (*AI*, nos. 10-11, pp. 16 and 83, pl. XXXVI, 2).
2. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 807, pl. facing p. 814, no. 17.
3. Altekar, *CGGCBH*, pl. XXX, nos. 1-4.
4. One of the meanings of *Śālabhañjikā* is a 'harlot' or a 'courtesan'; See Monier-Williams, *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, *s.v. śāla*.
5. Cf. *Udyāna-yātrās* (Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, 1.4.40).
6. See *supra*, pp. 175-76,
7. We have also discussed this sealing in *Ṛtam*, I, pp. 121-26.
8. The figure of lion compares well with the figures of this animal on the seal of king Abhimanyu (*EI*, VIII, pl. facing p. 164).
9. See *supra*, p. 267.

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tion in which only these two appear together are also not unknown. They occur face to face near the feet of a *dvārapāla* figure on the facade of the Ranigumpha cave.[1] A medallion with these two animals in relief, comparable in style to the medallions of Bharhut, occurs stamped on the base of a bowl from Taxila.[2]

The enmity between an elephant and a lion is proverbial, perhaps second only to that between the snake and the mangoose. It is a trial between might and energy and between brute strength and nimbleness. There are a few examples in art showing these animals in action against each other. On the 'Elephant-rider-lion-slayer' type of coins of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, the elephant is about to trample a lion while the latter tries to take a bite on one of its forelegs.[3] But there the aim of the artist was not so much to portray the might of the elephant as to depict the bravery of the king on a lion-hunt. On the reverse side of the coins of king Jājalladeva I is portrayed a 'lion with the tail upraised to right jumping on the elephant prostrate below'.[4] Indian literature is extremely partial to the lion and almost invariably portrays it as triumphant on an elephant.[5] The sealing, however, provides a contrast to the literary tradition.

Elephant and lion, besides other animals, are known as dynastic symbols. However, it is a moot point whether one is justified to read in this depiction a victory of one dynasty over another.[6]

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1. See Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pl. XXX, fig. 81.
2. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 435, no. 244 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 131, no. 242.
3. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 195, pl. XIII, nos. 1-2; cf. also *CGGCBH*, pl. XXX, 1-4.
4. Mirashi, *CII*, IV(i), p. CLXXXV, pl. A, nos. 5-6.
5. See e.g. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 17-22; 28. 1 ; 36.37. The *Raghuvaṁśa* (16.16) of Kālidāsa refers to the portraits of elephants in the royal palace being attacked by lions in the belief that they were live ones. According to the *Nītiśatakam*, a lion even though hungry, old and exhausted, would make only the temple of an elephant as its morsel (*ibid.*, *śloka* 13); it would leave aside a jackal, even though it be lying on its lap, and kill an elephant in rut (*ibid.*, *śloka* 36) ; even a lions cub would fall upon the temple of an elephant in (*ibid.*, *śloka*, 97). In the *Kumārasambhava* (1.6), it is the *muktās* from the elephants' temples falling on the ground from the grooves in the nails of lions that provide to the hunters a clue about the latters' whereabouts. The *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* ascribes the inactivity of lions as the cause of the country being terrorised by elephants (*Bibliotheca Indica*, (*NS*), no. 1420, 1915, p. 24).
6. The depiction of a lion trampling over an elephant on the Kalachuri king Jājalladeva's coins has, for example, been taken by Prof. Mirashi to represent that king's victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king who bore the title of 'the lord of elephants' (*CII*, IV, p. CXXV, fn.). The dynastic symbol of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, the Pallavas and the Kadambas was a lion (Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 37).

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The way in which the legs of the elephant are disposed, the swing of its trunk and the bristling tail—all forcefully convey the idea of the animal being in full action.

On the Mahishamardinī sealings of the Gupta period from Rajghat (pl. XXI, 2), the figure of the Devī, though slim and elongated, is full of vigour and dynamism and these characteristics remind us of the famous bronze dancing girl from Mohenjo-daro. The way she has been shown holding the tail of the Mahisha, trampling the demon with her foot and piercing his body, testifies to the master-skill of its modeller. Equally forceful is the depiction of the figure of Mahisha with body curved under the violent impact of the action of the Devī, though still holding his head high in resistance.

A sealing from Basarh shows a man holding a bull at bay by its horns (pl. XXX, 5).[1] Bull-games were very popular in ancient Crete. We have a few examples of bull-fights on Harappan seals as well.[2] The game was quite popular in the Dravidian South where girls chose their partners from amongst the successful competitors.[3] According to Dr. Basham, it may have something to do with similar sports practised 'as part of a religious ceremonial, by the ancient Cretans..'.[4]

The sealing belongs to the Gupta period which proves the prevalence of such sports during that age also, thus indicating the continuity of the ancient traditions. Quite interesting is the depiction of a male figure struggling with a rampant horse on a Kushāṇa seal[5] already discussed.[6]

Two inscribed sealings of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* convent at Kasia show a coffin between two *śāla* trees[7] and a flaming pyre with a kneeling figure to its proper right.[8] The motifs are also met with in Gandhāra art[9] and are

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1. Indian Museum, A18826—NS 9917; see also *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 106, pl. XLI no. 17. Bloch thought that the man has a tail (*ibid*), but A. Banerji thinks that it is the end of a scarf worn by the man and refers to similar Cretan analogies (*JNSI*, XIV, p. 90).
2. According to Fabri, D.K. 9281 and 8321 from Mohenjo-daro show identical games and D.K. 8120 and 4547 from the same site show the final sacrifice (*ASIAR*, 1934-35, pp. 95, 98 and 99 and figs. 3 and 6).
3. Basham, *Wonder That Was India*, p. 209.
4. *Ibid.* He also thinks this as indicative of a link between the Tamil people and the early civilization of Mesopotamia (*ibid.*).
5. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushāṇas*, pp. 102-103, text figure.
6. *Supra*, p. 170.
7. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 83, no. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, no. 2.
9. Cf. Foucher, *L' Art Gréco-bouddhique, du Gandhāra*, figs. 285, 86, 287, 290, 298 and 299.

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indicative of its influence. These motifs were subsequently replaced by the typical Buddhist wheel-and-deer symbol on the seals of this convent. The process of replacing foreign motifs by Indian ones is a well-known feature also exemplified by the Gupta coins.

Many figures on the seals and sealings of the Gupta period manifest the seal-maker's partiality towards portrayal of diaphanous drapery in the typical Gupta style. A few female figures are depicted clad in *sārīs* (pls. X, 2-3; XI, 2-4). In one instance, two attendant female figures are shown in horizontally striped skirts or *lahaṅgās* (?) (pl. XII, 5). Barring a *laṅgoṭa* (pl. VI, 2) a *dhotī* (IX, 7) and a *saṅghāṭī* (pl. XVII, 1), there is little to note about the drapery of the male figures which are mostly shown draped diaphanously. Bangles (pl. XXX, 4), anklets (pl. XXX, 4), necklaces (pls. X, 3; VII, 1) and ear-rings worn by both males and females (pls. VI, XVII, 3) are the ornaments commonly met with on the glyptics. The practice of coiffuring back the hair (pl. XXX, 4), the distinctive *mukuṭa* (pl. XI, 1) and use of garlands are also noticeable. Also represented is the *akshamālā* (the telling-bead of the anchorite, pl. XVI, 6). The evidence, by no means detailed or exhaustive, is corroborative of the trends in fashion noticed in the far too richer spheres of Indian art—those of sculptures and paintings.

Delineation of human and divine figures on seals follows the same traditions in ideals and treatment as in their sculptural counterparts. They are portrayed in various postures, sitting (pls. XVII, 4-6; XX, 7, 9; XXVII, 4), standing (pls. V, 7; X, 1, 2 and 3; XXXI, 13), running (pl. VI, 2), running with a skipping rope,[1] hunting (pl. XXX, 3; XXXV, 6), riding a horse (pl. XXX, 3) or a chariot,[2] playing on a *vīṇā* (pl. XXXVI, 5),[3] dancing (pl. XVII, 3), in violent motion[4] or love-making (pl. XXX, 7).[5]

The treatment of some human figures suggests some foreign affinities.[6] Mr. M. Taddie[7] considers the half-naked figure in rapid motion on a Taxila seal, identified by Marshall as Wind God, to have been influenced by Dionysian

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1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pl. XLVII, no. 211.
2. *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, pl. IV, fig. 1 top left.
3. This specimen comes from Rajghat. There are two specimens in the Cunningham's Collection of Seals, British Museum, showing the same device (*JNSI*, XXII, p. 128, nos. 38-39, pl. VI, 7-8).
4. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, pl. 208, no. 59.
5. Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing nos. 18898 and 18943 depict *mithuna* figures.
6. *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 70, pl. LXXXIII, 1.
7. *Annali, Nuova series*, XIX, (volume 29), Fascicolo 1, pp. 57 ff.

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iconography.[1] Sometimes, the figures were caricatured also as on a seal from Harinarayanpur.[2] A few devices evince marked Hellenistic touches (pl. XXX, 1). A clay sealing from Jhukar shows a bust showing resemblance to that on some coins of the White Hūṇas.[3]

The Gajalakshmī figure on an Eran sealing (pl. XII, 3) is extremely artistic. The body is slim and breasts fully developed, while the delineation of physical features seems to bear the imprint of Hellenistic influences in general. Examples of Gajalakshmī figures portrayed artistically are quite numerous (pl. X, 1; XI, 5; XII, 1, 6, etc.).

We may here take notice of two Gupta bronze seals from Rajghat noticed by Dr. N. R. Ray.[4] One shows a seated bull figure with the legend *Śrī Jayavarma* while the other has the figure of a roaring lion and the legend *Śrī Bhadrasya*. Both figures are remarkable for their dynamic naturalism. "The lion type still smacks of Hellenistic modelling, but the bull is a typical Indian bull conforming strictly to the contemporary plastic idiom".[5]

Fabulous animals are rare.[6] We find the figure of a fabulous animal, shown running, on a Sirkap seal.[7] Winged horse occurs on a seal in Cunningham's collection,[8] on two copper seals from Taxila[9] and also on a Rajghat sealing in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi (pl. XXXI, 12).[10] We also come across representations of a *kinnara*,[11], a winged centaur[12], a winged centaur with peacock's body and the head of a ram holding a cross in one hand and a jug in the other,[13] a winged stag,[14] and a dragon-like device

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1. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 363, no. 36; II, p. 682, no. 38 ; for illustration, *ibid.*, III, pl. 208, no. 59.
2. *IAR*, p. 70, pl. LXXXIII, 2.
3. Majumdar, *MASI*, 48, p. 7, pl. XIV, 6.
4. *Classical Age*, p. 553, pl. XLIII, nos. 99-102.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 553.
6. Cf. ancient Hebrew seals where such figures are quite common (Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, p. 21).
7. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, pl. 208, no. 40.
8. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 128, no. 41.
9. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680, no. 18; III, pl. 207, no. 37 and pl. 208, no. 38.
10. Cf. the depiction of a prancing winged horse in cave no. 3 at Pitalkhora (Deshpande, *AI*, No. 15, pl. XLIXA), for a close parallel.
11. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 128, no. 40.
12. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, pl. 207, no. 14.
13. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 128, no. 47.
14. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, pl. 207, no. 5.

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(pl. XXXI, 6)[1] on the seals and sealings under review. Such fabulous animals are found in the myths and art of a majority of ancient cultures.

The depiction of cow on the seals of our period was not favoured by the artists. However, some nineteen sealings from Nagar (District Kaira) bear the device of a cow and the sucking calf from the same die.[2] The device of a cow is conspicuous by its absence on the Harappan seals. We may, in passing, refer to the device of cow and the sucking calf on a sealing from Kathmandu (Nepal), containing the legend *Prasathadā*(?), 'a cow yielding a *prastha* (i. e. desired quantity [of milk])[3]. The sealing seems to be an impression of Aṁśuvarman's seal or coin-mould as the reverse of a type of his coins bears identical motif with the legend, though different, yet of similar purport.[4] All bull figures are of the humped variety, perhaps their virility and some religious and sanctimonious associations being the guiding factors for such a selection. The ox generally symbolises self-denial and disinterested fellow-service bearing the yoke of labour in silence and for the good of others. In some cases, a sphere is seen in-between the horns of the bull figures (pls. IX, 3; XXXI, 2, 3). We have given some suggestions regarding the identification of the motif in the Indian context.[5] It is, however, well-known that the representation of a sphere as the insignia of Egyptian gods is quite common and the sphere between the horns is also a popular Sassanian motif.[6]

We have on a sealing a humped bull and an unidentifiable object (pl. XXXI, 1)[7] almost in the manner of a sacred manger as before some Harappan animals. The figure of the bull shown in frontal view with clever foreshortening in so limited a space (pl. IX, 3; XXXI, 3) amply testifies that those who fashioned these figures had a long experience of such delineations.

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1. Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6107.
2. Mehta, *Excavation at Nagara*, p. 106, pl. XI, a. It has been dated to Period III, O.O.A.D. B.C. to 8th-9th century A.D).
3. Deo, *Bull. of the Deccan College Research Institute*, XXV, pp. 195-96.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 196. The legend on such coins reads *Kāmadohī*, i.e. a (cow) yielding desired quantity of milk (*ibid.*).
5. *Supra*, p. 117.
6. Shri A. Banerji opines that 'the alleged sphere between the horns seems to be an error due to optical illusion. In reality it is the top of the hump of the bull seen through the horns' (*IHQ*, XXIX, p. 227).
7. Rajghat, Allahabad Museum, no. 119.

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The figure is, sometimes, so conventionalised as to appear balloon-shaped (pl. XXXI, 2).[1]

Some of the elephant figures are quite interesting ; one sealing shows a very well-portrayed figure of that animal in a small space (pl. XXXI, 5)[2], while another has a dignified and artistic representation of it (pl. XXXI, 11).[3] A Bactrian camel also occurs singly[4] or with a boar, both facing each other (pl. XXXI, 8)[5], or with the boar in the upper field (pl. XXXI, 7).[6] Of the boar figures, one on a seal from Basarh[7] is finely executed. Reference may also be made to the artistic depiction of an animal figure on a Kushāṇa seal which may be either a boar or a bear.[8]

The lion figure on a seal of Īśānasiṁha (pl. III, 4) deserves special notice. The animal is shown seated on hind legs, roaring full-throated and mouth agape, muscles and sinews of the fore-legs together with the face exuding ferocity and strength; the waist is typically slender. Equally artistic is the lion figure on a Sunet sealing and a Rajghat sealing (pl. XXXI, 14).[9]

The depiction of a lion standing over the prostrate body of a deer on a Basarh seal shows the realistic approach of the artist.[10] Lion-and-stag motif occurs on a sealing from Rupar.[11] This is in the tradition of the Mediterranean gems. The elephant-and-lion motif on a Sanghol seal has been already discussed[12]. Horses have been shown in various postures, walking.[13] galloping or racing (XXX, 4, 12),[14] with a rider on the back[15] or yoked to chariots.[16]

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1. Rajghat, Allahabad Museum, no. 108.
2. Allahabad Museum, no. 383 (from Kauśāmbī).
3. From Vaiśālī, Directorate of Museums and Archaeology, Bihar Govt., Patna.
4. Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6006.
5. *Ibid.*, no. 6037, the legend on it reads *Hastinandisya*.
6. Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan sealing; exactly the same device occurs on a Rajghat sealing now in the Lucknow Museum (no. 40. 159).
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 126, no. 54, pl. XLVI.
8. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushāṇas*, p. 102, no. 2, pl. XVI.
9. *JNSI*, XX(i), pl. IX, no. 1.
10. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 132, no. 163, pl. XLVI.
11. *Lalit Kalā*, nos. 1-2, p. 127, pl. LI, 27.
12. *Supra*, pp. 271-73.
13. *ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 108, no. 1.
14. For other examples, see Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 679, no. 12 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 207, no. 4; Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6470; *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 141, no. 341, pl. XLVIII.
15. Bharat Kala Bhavan, nos. 6483, 6484 and 6485. See also Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushāṇas*, pp. 101-02, no. 1, pl. XVI; the seal has been ascribed, on stylistic grounds, to the period of Kanishka or Huvishka.
16. *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, pl. IV, fig. I (top left).

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A monkey occurs on a seal from Sirkap[1] while a miniature figure of a *makara* is met with on a gold ring from Bulandibagh.[2] The latter also occurs on a Rajgir sealing.[3] It symbolises 'passions, delusion and hatred' and is said to have followed the Buddha throughout his career.[4] Because of its association with mud, water and vegetation, it also came to symbolise fecundity. A carnelian sealing in the Cunningham's collection, British Museum, shows a deer[5] while another, of green jasper, shows a ram.[6] The latter animal also occurs on a sealing from Taxila.[7] Depictions of peacock figures are really pleasing (pls. IX, 4; XXX, 2). We may also refer to the figure of a Brahmani duck holding a lotus in its beak,[8] a pair of geese facing each other[9] and flying geese.[10] The goose or swan is symbolic of wisdom. Vogel has shown that it was employed as a favourite art-motif from the time of Aśoka to that of the Moghuls.[11]

The trees, because of their utility, beauty and liveliness, attracted the artists since remote antiquity. They were considered as sources of milk, longevity and fertility and also as symbols of knowledge.

Depictions of trees on our seals and sealings are of a high artistic order and the representation on the *Ārogyavihāra* sealing from Kumrahar (pl. XXIII, 3) may be cited as an example. We may also recall the tree noticed earlier in describing the *śālabhañjikā* figure (pl. XXX, 4). A clay sealing from Bangarh[12] depicts beautifully five rice plants with stalks within a railing. The device is typically suggestive of a rice-producing region—Bengal.

The seals and sealings testify to the use of certain types of household utensils, current decorative patterns and designs. Of the household utensils, we have evidence of the use of conventional vessels (pl. XI, 1), jars of the

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1. *CII*, II (1), p. 101, pl. XX, 5; Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680; III, pl. 208, no. 49.
2. *JBORS*, XX, p. 3, no. 3, pl. I, no. 3.
3. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 102, no. C.
4. Barua, *Barhut*, I, p. 10.
5. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 129, no. 48, pl. VI, 17.
6. *Ibid.*, XXII, no. 45, pl. VI, 14.
7. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 679, no. 11.
8. *Ibid.*, III, pl. 207, no. 15.
9. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 129, no. 43, pl. VI, 12.
10. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 102.
11. *Goose in Indian Literature and Art*, pp. 19, 31, 55, 56, 59, 70, etc.
12. Goswami, *Excavations at Bangarh*, p. 12, pl. XXIV(b), 5. It bears a legend tentatively read by him as *Jitāmittra Bhad(r)a-gu(ptasya)* in *circa* third or fourth century A. D. characters. A *nandipada* and a *śaṅkha* also occur on it.

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traditional variety in numerous Gajalakshmī seals (pl. X, 1 and 3) and a jug with a handle and spout, popularly known as *gaḍuvā* (pl. XXV, 4). The auspicious 'vase-and-foliage' (pl. XXI, 9 ; XXXIII, 1-3) is a popular motif on seals. It is symbolic of plenty and prosperity and has been referred to in literature variously as *pūrṇa-kumbha, pūrṇa-kalaśa, pūrṇa-ghaṭa, maṅgala-kalaśa, bhadra-kalaśa*, etc.[1] The money-chest is an interesting prototype of the one still in use today.

A clay sealing from Bhita[2] (pl. III, 7) demonstrates the perfection achieved in the art of engraving letters on dies. Marshall observed that "in respect of execution, the seal excels any object of this type which has yet been discovered in India".[3] The Buddhist formula, likewise, in many cases, has been calligraphed very artistically, showing the engraver's perfect mastery of his art (pl. XXII, 3).

One of the finest examples of minute and exquisite workmanship of a seal-maker's art is to be seen in no. 17 of Marshall's list of Bhita seals[4] which is in the style of some of the best reliefs at Sanchi.[5] The entire scene reminded Vogel of the passage in the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* wherein Dushyanta is entreated by his charioteer not to kill the deer as it had sought refuge in the *āśrama* of sage Kaṇva.[6]

A seal is too small an object to include and depict elaborate architectural features in details, though, at the same time, it is not completely devoid of these. We do not come across any representation of a *stūpa* on Mauryan or Śuṅga sealings. *Stūpas* represented on our seals and sealings are rather elongated (pls. XXII, 1; XXIII, 5) and different from the Mauryan hemispherical domes in shape, clearly suggestive of a later period.

A unique oval Kumrahar sealing from period III, assigned to *circa* first to third century A.D.,[7] shows, in the upper half, the plan of a building, probably a monastery, and, in the lower half, the legend *Saṁghasa* (Sanskrit

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1. Agrawala, *Wheel Flag of India, Chakradhvaja.*
2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 25.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 35-36, 71, pl. XXIII, no. 17 ; also *ibid.*, pl. XXIV.
5. Marshall suggests that the die, from which this impression was made, was perhaps of ivory. One of the reliefs on a Sanchi gate-way, according to inscriptional evidence thereon, was the work of ivory workers of Vidiśā (*ibid.*).
6. *Vide ibid.*, p. 36.
7. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 103, no. 2, pl. XXXII, 1; see also *IAR*, 1953-54, p. 10.

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Saṅghasya) '[seal] of the monastery' (pl. XXIII, 4). It seems that either the plan of the monastery had been approved by the *bhikshu-saṅgha* before its execution or that it had been adopted as a monogram for the seal of the *saṅgha* by the *bhikshus* residing in the monastery. We know that in the Amaravati *stūpa* small miniatures of the *stūpa* itself were used in bas-reliefs as decorative features.[1] It is possible to surmise that originally a slab was carved with the design of what a *stūpa* was to look like, serving as a model for the architects. Our sealing, however, gives only the ground plan of the monastery.

The depiction of a gateway (*toraṇa*) on a sealing in the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bengal Government, Calcutta,[2] resembles, to some extent, those of Sanchi. There is frequent representation of a symbol resembling Brāhmī *ja* alternatively facing right (as *ja* should be) and left. A few other sealings in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta,[3] have a similar device. All these come from Bengal. We cannot be definite about their dates nor are we sure of the continuance of the Śuṅga style of *toraṇas* in subsequent ages. The representation of a *toraṇa* may be suggestive of a town or a *stūpa*.

A temple with triple *śikharas* and a horse-shoe archway is represented on one of the copper seals from Jhusi[4] referred to above.[5] The archway reminds us of a similar design in the Buddhist rock-cut *chaityas*.

An interesting representation of a hut with a Brāhmaṇa ascetic sitting inside occurs on a copper seal from Sirkap.[6] An interesting parallel to this device occurs in a sculpture from Kalawan near Taxila[7] indicating the extent to which the same architectural device could be followed through different mediums.

The multi-armed (pl. XXI, 2), multi-headed (pl. XX, 7) or animal-headed (pl. XX, 9) representations might appear to be outraging the canons of beauty to such critics as view and assess the Indian art-objects in the light of Greek and Roman concepts. Indian art is symbolic[8] and seeks to

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1. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, I, p. 38.
2. The sealing has been published in *Archaeological Discovery in West Bengal*, (*Bulletin no. 1* of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal).
3. E.g. nos. T6014 and 6564 (both from district Chandraketugarh).
4. *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, pl. IV, no. 1 (top left).
5. *Supra*, p. 268.
6. Marshall, *Taxila*, III, pl. 208, no. 50.
7. *Ibid.*, III, pl. 222, no. 134.
8. Even Smith's otherwise a very sane view that 'to insist on the necessity of burdening the mind with a host of symbolical and psychological adjuncts prior to appreciation is to obstruct the vision' (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 6) does not seem to

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depict the spirit behind the object rather than individuals true to nature which latter is the case with the Greek art.[1]

Many of the auspicious motifs, the *svastika, nandipada, śaṅkha,* vase-and-foliage, lotus and others, occurring on seals, find representation on the door-jambs of temples generally ascribed to the Gupta period.

A cursory glance would show that the seals represent a host of symbols. The symbols, generally, had a meaning and purpose and were born of innumerable myths and legends which had gained importance by their association and currency for several centuries and had been deeply engrained in the minds of the people.[2] They either stood for the deities or served their specific designations emphasising the ideas underlying the images. They were also used to fill blank surfaces as decorative motifs, not unoften because of the *horror vocui* psychology of the people.

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be fully applicable in the context of the Indian art. So vital were these symbols and myths to Indian art that when these were discarded and historic truth was chosen for art-expression, as was the case with the Gandhāra art—it faltered and was ultimately replaced by the indigenous art.

1. Cf. Marshall: "To the Greek men, man's beauty, man's intellect were everything.....The vision of an Indian was bound by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than finite. Where Greek thought was ethical, his was spiritual; where Greek was rational, his was emotional" (*CHI*, 649).
2. As Mukerjee puts it, even "Indian history is largely a history of myths, faiths and ethos...." (*Culture and Art of India*, p. 33). The hoary antiquity of symbolism, lack of evidence regarding their exact meaning and significance in the past, their being liable to yield more than one interpretation, the old symbols being forgotten and new ones created while older ones sometimes reintroduced—are factors that complicate the correct interpretation of the ancient symbols. Location of the place of their origin is yet another complicated problem. Parallels in later and modern times both in India and the neighbouring countries together with their context would be of great help.

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CHAPTER VIII

NAMES AND THEIR IMPORT

Naming the child has always been an important and solemn social ritual amongst all peoples and in all countries through the ages.[1] Religious literature of the Hindus bears ample testimony to the great importance of the name-giving ceremony (*nāmadheyasaṁskāra*),[2] an important sacrament performed with due solemnity and feasting, and some texts even refer to secret names.[3] Since most of the seals and sealings belong to private individuals, they add considerably to our knowledge of the ancient practice of nomenclature. As such, a study of these names should be both interesting and informative inasmuch as the names were generally given to children with some purpose or motive and also in keeping with certain proprieties. It might also give an idea of the religious beliefs, social even political and economic status, professions, likes and dislikes, etc., of the parents or guardians of the child. Our studies reveal that, while most of the names given to the new-born were in keeping with the prevailing practices and meaningful, some are not only curious but also ludicrous. We have added an alphabetical list of names together with the provenance of the seals on which they occur and reference to their location or publication as an Appendix at the end of this Chapter. We have referred to the serial numbers of the names in it while studying the various aspects of nomenclature under different heads.

Names after gods, semi-gods, or having religious connotations

Children in ancient India seem to have generally been named after favourite deities *nakshatras*, rivers, mountains, *tīrthas*, heroes, sages and saints, as well as sacred objects.[4] The seals at our disposal corroborate the evidence from literature and epigraphy to a great extent. It appears that the name of a particular god or spirit was given to the child with the object and belief that the repeated uttering of that sacred name would bring

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1. "Historical and anthropological research has failed to discover any people lacking names" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1965 ed., Vol. 15, p. 1157, (col. 2).
2. *Manu*, II, 30-33.
3. *Ṛigveda* IX.87.3.
4. Cf. *Mānavagṛihyasūtra* 1. 18. 2, *Yaśasyaṁ, nāmadheyaṁ devatāśrayaṁ nakshatrāśrayaṁ*; *Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, II. 1. 28, *Ṛishyaṇūkaṁ devatāṇūkaṁ cha.*

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salvation or material prosperity. Also, the child was so named as to acquire the divine virtues and qualities of that deity or spirit and to sustain close connection with him. Mostly, the names after gods have a suffix or ending indicating that the child was a gift of, or favoured and protected by, the deity and dedicated in servitude to him.[1] We classify below such names as are after deities or with religious connotation.

Indra—Nos. 174-77; Indra-ending name, no. 277.

Agni—Nos. 7-9.

Brahma—Nos. 75-78.

Varuṇa—No. 433.

Yajña—Nos. 474-77. Quite possibly, originally these names were adopted after the performance of a sacrifice.[2] It is interesting to note that two names have *soma*-endings (245, 474).

Veda—No. 439.

Vishṇu and his incarnations—A large number of names are after Vishṇu Achyuta (3), Ananta[3] (14 and 15), Gopāla[4] (148), Hari (155-163), Janārdana (189), Keśava (211-15), Kṛishṇa (217-219), Narasiṁha (271), Nārāyaṇa (273-276), Rāma (310), Trivik-rama (411), Varāha (426-30), Vishṇu (447-62) and Viśvarūpa (466). Of the above, curiously enough, nos. 155 (Hari) and 211 (Keśava) are directly after the deity, without any suffix. That the name Hari refers to a person (and not god) is clear from the term *kulika* prefixed to it. The *Mānavagṛihyasūtra* strictly enjoins against the practice of giving the name of a deity directly.[5] However, even as early as the Vedic period, we have such an example.[6]

Śiva—Names after the various epithets of Śiva were also popular. We have on the seals Bhava (58, 59, 60, 62), Īśāna (178, 179, 180), Īśvara (181 to 185), Jayanta (192, 193), Maheśvara (237), Paśupati (288), Rudra (320-32), Śaṅkara (342-44), Śarva (346-350) and Śiva (372-78). Names after Nandī alone (269) or with Nandī as a name-ending (127, 369,

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1. For seals bearing the name directly after god, see below.
2. *Ṛigveda*, VIII. 80. 9. Sāyaṇa comments that such a name would be like Somayājī and be the fourth name of the person (*vide* Kane, *IHQ*, p. 224).
3. This is also a name of Śiva, Śeshanāga, etc.
4. The seal has been ascribed to *c.* first century B.C. and, if the name is taken as a synonym of Kṛishṇa, it might indicate the popularity of the Bhāgavata cult in that period.
5. *Mānavagṛihyasūtra*, 1. 18. 2, *devatāyāścha pratyakshaṁ pratisiddham.*
6. E.g. Varuṇa (*Taittirīya Up.*, III. 1). Prof. Kane points out that this is a solitary instance in the Vedic literature (*IHQ*, XIV, p. 237).

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377, 458) are also to be noticed. Nandī, in the beginning of a name, occurs on no. 270. Nandī is a name of Śiva as well as his *vāhana*.

Kārttikeya—Kumāra (221-225), Mahāsena (234), Skanda (379, 380), Suviśākha (399) and Viśākha (446).

Gaṇeśa—Gaṇapati (135).

Yakshas—Dhanada (110), Yaksha (478).

Epic heroes—Lakshmaṇa (226, 227), Baladeva (31), Bhīma (63-66), Arjuna (262) and Ghaṭotkacha (139, 140). All of these names, however, need not necessarily be taken after the Epic heroes as some of these are also known to early Vedic literature.[1]

Ṛishis—Jābāli (186), Kapila (208) and Viśvāmitra (463-65).

Buddha—Nos. 79-84 and Siddhārtha—the proper name of the Buddha (362).

Dharma—Nos. 117-21. *Dharma* may stand for code of duties or may have a special reference to the Buddhist *dharma*.

Saṅgha—Nos. 336, 337 and 338.

Female deities—Gaurī (137, 138), Lakshmī (228), Shashṭhī (359-361), and Mātṛikā (243-245). The names beginning with 'Śrī' (384-387), in some cases, may be just honorific but sometimes also after goddess Śrī.

Sun—Āditya (4, 5, 6), Bhāskara (56), Mitra (248-250), Prabhākara (294), Ravi (315, 316) and Sūrya (394-96). Names beginning with *mitra* or ending in it have been mentioned separately, below.

Moon—We have names beginning with *Chandra* (86-90) as also ending in it (53, 161, 181, 320, 447) and Śaśāṅka (351). Examples of those beginning with *Soma* (382, 383) and ending in *Soma* (245, 474) are also met with.

Stars and nakshatras—Dhruva (124-129), Pushya (302-06), Revatī (317) and Rohiṇī (319). A *nakshatra* presiding at the time of a child's birth was often chosen as the name of the new-born. But names after *nakshatras* are practically unknown to early Vedic literature.[2] Perhaps such names were secret in those times. Gradually they ceased to be so and became quite common. Dhruvadevī (125) and also Dhruvasvāminī (129, a variant of no. 125), show that such names were given even to the ladies after the stars. The *Varāhagṛihyasūtra*[3] prescribes that the name of a girl should

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1. See *infra*, p. 292, fn. 5.
2. *Vide* Kane, *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 235-36 ; cf. also Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 184.
3. *Varāhagṛihyasūtra*, 2, *vide* Kane, *IHQ*, XIV, p. 233.

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not be after the name of a *nakshatra*, the moon, and the sun while according to Manu,[1] one should not marry a girl named after a *nakshatra*.

After two deities—Hariśchandra (161), Īśvarachandra (181), Mātṛisoma (245), Rudrachandra (320), Śaṅkaranāga (343), Vishṇuchandra (447), Yajñasoma (474) and Yakshanāga (478). Similar examples are also known from epigraphs.[2]

Names based on other things

After animals—Certain names are after animals. We have names like Ahi (10), Aja (11) and Nāga (254). Nāga occurs as the first part of the names (255-66), or as name-ending (237, 402, 445, 478). Amongst other animals, we have names after bull or cow (147-149), elephant (169-173), elephant calf (203),[3] goat (11), horse (23, 24, 25), lion (366-371), tiger (471-73), boar (426-430). Matsya and Aja as names of tribes or people are well-known. As names of tribes, these might have been totemistic, but individual names after animals may or may not belong to that category.

After trees—Āmra (13).

After sea—Samudra (340-41).

After rivers—Gaṅgadeva (136). Male names after rivers are not forbidden. Certain texts,[4] however, disfavour female names after them.

After water—Jala (188).

After countries and localities—Avanti (26), Barbarika (38), Chetagiri (92), Śikhaṇḍa (364), Parvata (287), Isila (180a) Yugandhara (481). Pāṇini mentions such names as *sthānānta* names.[5]

After profession—Two names may be put in this category, *viz.* Nāvika (279) and Rathika (312).

After physical peculiarities and different parts of the body—The practice of naming or denoting persons and even gods[6] by their physical peculiarities is not uncommon and persists even to this day. A large headed person may have been named as Mahāśira (235). In this category may also be placed Gomuṇḍaka (145), literally one with a head (like that) of bull, Bhadrāksha ('good-eyed', no. 46), Ramyāksha ('beautiful-eyed', no. 309) and Nayanaśobhā

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1. *Manu*, III, 9.
2. Cf. Indra-Vishṇu, Varuṇa-Vishṇu, Hari-Vishṇu and Mātṛi-Vishṇu in the Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 34-36, at p. 35).
3. Kalabhaka (203) also means young of any animal.
4. E.g. *Manu*, III, 9.
5. *Ashṭādhyāyī* IV, 3. 35-38.
6. Cf. the name Lambodara.

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('pleasing to the eye', 281), Some names are after *hasta* (i.e. 'hand', 167, 168).

After races and tribes—Ārya (18-22), Goṇḍa (146) and Muṇḍa (251, 252). Several Nāga-beginning and Nāga-ending names referred to under animals may as well be after the Nāga tribe.

After gotras—Bhārgava (55) and Kauśika (209, 210). In Vedic literature, we sometimes come across *gotra*-names together with other names of persons.[1]

After ancestors—The seals also denote the prevailing practice of naming children after ancestors. We have two Chandraguptas (88, 89) and at least two Kumāraguptas (223 and 224) in the Imperial Gupta dynasty and two Rājyavardhanas (307, 308) in the Pushpabhūti dynasty. The *Baudhāyana-gṛihyasūtra* recommends this practice in naming a child.[2] The *Mānava-gṛihyasūtra* prescribes that the father's name should be avoided.[3]

Abstract names—A large number of names are abstract, e.g., 1, 2, 36, 164, 362, 441, 442, etc.

Name-endings

The authors of Gṛihyasūtras, barring Pāraskara, are silent about the *upapadas* meant to indicate different *varṇas* and the practice seems to have come into vogue 'only sometime before the extant Manu and long after the older Gṛihyasūtras.'[4] The *Pāraskaragṛihyasūtra*,[5] perhaps for the first time, lays down *śarma*, *varma* and *gupta* as the endings for names of the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively. The *Baudhāyanīya Gṛrihyaśeshasūtra* agrees with this and adds that the name of a Śūdra should end in *bhṛitya* or *dāsa* or only in *dāsa*.[6] According to Manu, the name of a Brāhmaṇa should end with a suffix like *śarma*, (happiness), the name of a Kshatriya with a connotative meaning protection, that of a Vaiśya suggesting prosperity and of a Śūdra humility.[7] Generally, the names of the Brāhmaṇas ended in *śarman* or *deva*, that of the Kshatriyas in *varman*, *rāja* and *trāta*, of Vaiśya in *gupta*,

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1. Cf. Sutvan Kairiśi Bhārgāyaṇa (*Ait. Br.*, 40. 5) ; Chyavana Bhārgava (*ibid.*, 39. 7).
2. II. I. 24, *yathaivaishāṁ pūrvapurushāṇāṁ nāmāni syuḥ.*
3. I. 18. 2, *tyaktvā piturnāmadheyam.* Curiously enough, we even have an example of a father and his son bearing the same name. Later Chālukya king Someśvara I Āhavamalla's son was Someśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla.
4. Kane, *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 238-39.
5. 1. 17. 4. *śarma Brāhmaṇasya, varma Kshatriyasya, gupteti Vaiśyasya.*
6. 1. 11. 4-18, as quoted by Kane in *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 233-34.
7. *Manu.*, II, 32, *śarmavadbrāhmaṇasya syādrājño rakshāsamanvitam, Vaiśyasya pushṭisaṁyuktaṁ śūdrasya preshyasaṁyutam.*

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bhūti and *datta*.[1] But there are examples to show that the practice seems to have never been strictly adhered to.[2]

The dynastic nomenclatures like Mitra, Gupta, Vardhana, Varman, Pāla, Sena, etc., are based on the name-endings adopted by the rulers of these different dynasties. We give below some name-endings occurring on seals.

Śarman—Nos. 21, 123, 128, 160, 177, 215, 250, 263, 264, and 329.

Bhaṭṭa—Nos. 22, 156, 414.

Deva—Nos. 20, 31, 59, 63, 79, 80, 111, 117, 136, 168, 191, 210, 248, 260, 322-24, 334, 408, 437. Nos. 103-06 have *deva* in the beginning.

Varman—Nos. 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 26, 35, 56, 71, 90, 133, 135, 163, 180, 185, 204, 225, 236, 276, 304, 341, 350, 356, 392, 396, 397, 432 (only Varma), 461, 462.

Bala—Nos. 150, 167, 473 (ending in *vala*). We have also names beginning with *bala* (29-36).

Bhaṭa—No. 256.

Siṁha—Nos. 52, 104, 179, 265, 288, 331, 332, 333 and 344 end in *siṁha*, while no. 282 ends with *sīha*. Nos. 366 and 367 have only *siṁha* and nos. 368-171 have *siṁha* in the beginning.

Pāla—Nos. 11, 64, 172, 261, 418, 431, 471. No. 47 ends in *pālaka*. Cf. also *pālita* (77) as name-ending.

Sena—Nos. 62, 65, 149, 173, 195, 219, 253, 292, 299, 330, 413. Pāṇini[3] mentions *senānta* names. They became quite popular in post-Pāṇini period.[4]

Gupta—Nos. 7, 76, 81, 88, 89, 140, 159, 165, 175, 223, 224, 271, 301, 340, 386, 387, 393, 419, 453, 454, 455. Nos. 152 to 154 have *Gupta* only.

Bhūti—Nos. 108, 435; *bhūti* in the beginning (71).

Śūra—No. 380. No. 393 begins with *śūra*.

Dāsa—Nos. 13, 44, 58, 85, 114, 137, 138, 158, 178, 182, 205, 212, 221, 243, 274, 315, 346, 359, 385, 404, 442, 448, 449, 450.

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1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX, p. 130.
2. For example, poet Kālidāsa was not a *Śūdra*. We also have instances of rulers so named as Vishṇudāsa (*CII*, III, no. 3, p. 25, text). Kings of some families had both *śarman* and *varman* as endings to their names (*EI*, VIII, 30). Brāhmaṇa names ending with *bhūti* and *dāsa* are not infrequent (*EI*, XIX, pp. 248-49).
3. IV. 1. 152.
4. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 86.

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Rakshita—Nos. 19, 48, 70, 78, 103, 120, 328, 338, 363, 378. Patañjali adds *rakshita* to Paṇini's list of *kṛita*-endings.[1]

Trāta—Nos. 84, 349, 352, 460.

Vṛiddhi—No. 305.

Vardhana—Nos. 5, 272, 294, 307, 308.

Svāmī—Nos. 129 (svāminī), 144, 196 (svāminī) 310 and 459. *Svāmi*, also occurs as the first part of names in nos. 401 and 402. Nos. 400 and 400A have *svāmi* alone. *Svāmi*-ending names are common with the followers of certain religious sects generally adopted after their initiation.

Mitra—Nos. 8, 24, 33, 83, 113, 118, 176, 200, 202, 280, 303, 317, 337, 361, 395, 406, 439, 440, 456, 457.

Pāṇini also takes cognizance of such names[2] which were few in the Vedic period but became popular in the post-Pāṇini age[3] as evidenced by several epigraphs. Nos. 248 to 250 are the names beginning with *mitra*.

Datta—Nos. 12, 14, 30, 49, 50, 124, 157, 174, 183, 198, 213, 214, 217, 218, 258, 259, 275, 316, 336, 342, 347, 360, 368, 374, 401, 425, 428-30, 436, 446, 451, 452. Nos. 100-01 are names beginning with *datta*, and no. 99 has only *Datta*. The names ending in *datta* (and also *śruta*) imply blessings.[4]

Ghosha—Nos. 23, 60, 325 and 379. No. 142 has simply *Ghosha*; no. 141 begins with *ghosa*.

Bhadra—Nos. 29, 255, 403; *Bhadra* in the beginning, 44-48. Nos. 42 and 43, only *Bhadra*.

Devī—Nos. 15, 17, 87, 100, 101, 125, 222, 247, 249, and 421. All the names ending in *devī* are of females and all such names on our seals are those of queens.[5] All the names of ladies end in *ā* (295) or *ī* (327 and those ending in *devī*). The names Dhruvasvāminī (120) and Nayanaśobhā (281) are interesting in as much as they are variants of Dhruvadevī (125) and Nayanalakshmī (also abbreviated to Nayanā) respectively.[6]

Name-endings as names

The names Śarma (345), Varma (432), Gupta (152-54), Dāsa (98),

1. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 183.
2. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI. 2. 165. See *ibid.*
3. See Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 185 text and fn.
4. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI. 2. 148.
5. All the queen have the suffix *devī*. In some cases, *devī*, occurs as the second part of the name; in others it occurs as a mere honorific suffix.
6. For Dhruvadevī and Dhruvasvāminī, see *supra*, p. 96; for Nayanaśobhā, Nayanalakshmī and Nayanā, *supra*, p. 83.

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Datta (99; cf. also the Prakrit form Dina, 130), Bala (28), Bhadra (42, 43), Ghosha (142) and Svāmi (400 and 400a) are interesting. Normally, these are met with as name-endings rather than complete names. This would give an additional weight to the view of those who hold that the name of the founder of the Gupta dynasty was *Gupta* rather than *Śrī-Gupta* (*Śrī* being only an honorific prefix).[1] Simlarly, Mitradeva (248) and Pālasena (285) may be cited as examples of names with two name-endings combined together.

Names abbreviated

Names were commonly abbreviated for ease in pronunciation and also out of endearment. On seals we generally come across the second part of the name abbreviated into *ka* (32, 32a, 45, 47, 82, 92, 94, 97, 110, 169, 170, 208, 252, 284, and 433). According to Pāṇini, *Vyāghrajina* may be shortened into *Vyāghraka*.[1] In some cases, the last full letter of the first part of the name is made *ikārānta*, and *la* is substituted for the second part as in Aśvila (25) and Devila (106). According to certain grammarians, Upendradatta could be shortened in to *Upaḍa*, *Upaka*, *Upiya*, *Upila* and *Upika*.[2]

Incidental names

Certain names seem to have been in keeping with the time and circumstances of the birth. The name Māgha (232) suggests that the child was born in the month of *Māgha*. The names Jeṭhadatta (198) and Jyeshṭhamitra (200) may have been given because of the birth in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* or that the child was the eldest. Similarly, the name Bhavana (61) may have been given to the newly born child when the house was probably under construction or extension. Parākrama (286) may have been a name adopted by Samudragupta after the performance of the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*), symbolic of his prowess (*parākrama*). The legend occurs together with the horse before a *yūpa*. We may recall the legend *aśvamedhaparākrama* on his coins which show similar device on their obverse.[4] The *Ṛigveda*[5] bears testimony to the fact that individuals took new names, like *Somayājī*, after the performance of sacrifice and that those were to be their fourth names.

Unusual and curious names

The name-givers generally chose a name after gods or things which

1. *Supra*, p. 65.
2. *Aṣhṭādhyāyī*, V.3.82. See Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 183.
3. *Vide* Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 183 and 191.
4. *Supra*, p. 92.
5. *Ṛigveda*, VIII. 66. 9; *vide* Kane, *IHQ*, XIV, p. 224.

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meant and sounded good. Rarely do we come across names after evil spirits. Such an instance is Piśācha[1] (293) which reminds us of Rākshasa, an important character in the play *Mudrārākshasa*. Bhūtaka (69) and Bhūtarakshita (70) are other such ones. Naming a person with such names was the result of a belief that if the child was named after an evil spirit, the latter would spare him. A good many names are curious and normally nothing sensible can be made out of them. Bhubhula (68), Chuchaka[2] (95) and Doḍḍa (131), etc., may be cited as examples of this type. A study of these names reveals that any expression could be used as the name of a child—lovely or ugly, divine or monstrous, and monosyllabic or polysyllabic.

Literary and epigraphic parallels of some uncommon nomenclature

The names—Ballāla (37), Mama (238) and Tīvaradeva (408) are interesting in as much as, though now uncommon, historical personages bearing these names are known, although they cannot be identified with them. Thus, Ballāla reminds of King Ballālasena of the Sena dynasty and several kings of the Hoysala dynasty bearing this name. Mama is known as the second name of one Harivarman from the Kudarkot inscription.[3] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has also Mama as a name of a regent of Ajitāpīḍa.[4] Tīvara, we may note in passing, was also the name of a son of Aśoka.[5] It has been suggested that Mātridāsa (no. 243) may be identical with the homonym mentioned in the Gadhwa inscription[6] (G.E. 88) of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Goswami[7] suggests that the name Bhūtarakshita (70) on a Bangarh sealing is written in characters similar to those of a Bodhgaya inscription recording the same name. It would, however, be premature to take these as identical.

The name Gada (134) occurring on an intaglio from Takht-a-Bahi[8] is interesting. It has been pointed out that the Syriac version of the Acts of St. Thomas refers to a certain Gad as brother of Gudufar identified by some with Gondophares.[9] Although the inscription on the intaglio does not

1. If, following Diskalkar, it be taken as the name of an individual. For a different suggestion, see *supra*, p. 259.
2. Chūchuka is a name of the person born of the union of Vaiśya and a Śūdrā (*Vaikhānasa Smārta Sūtra*, 10.13).
3. *EI*, I. pp. 180, 181.
4. *Rājataraṅginī*, I, *taraṅga* IV, verse 698.
5. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 69.
6. See *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104.
7. Goswami, *Excavations at Bangarh*, p. 12.
8. *ASIAR*, 1902-03, p. 167. The legend is in Kharoshṭhī.
9. *IA*, XXXIII, p. 13, fn. 9.

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warrant any identification, yet it, at least, proves that a person named Gada was there.

Foreign names

Some names smack of foreign influence and are typically un-Indian in character. Avarighsa (no. 27), Jarīva (190), Kanishka (206), Lavkhāṇa (230), Melyā (247), Theudama (405) and Toramāṇa (409) may be cited as examples. We may also refer to a clay sealing from Mathura bearing the legend *Yavanikanaṁ* in Brāhmī characters of *circa* second century A.D.[1]

Hinduised names of foreigners

The legend on a seal in the British Museum has been read as *Vatsa Śaka* (438) which would show that the seal belonged to a Śaka named Vatsa. Rudrasena (330), Rudrasiṁha (331-32) and Prabhudamā (295) are the names of Śakas—the first two of rulers and the last of a princess. These names clearly show that the Śakas had become considerably Hinduised.

D. R. Bhandarkar maintained that Ṭimitra (406) of a Besnagar sealing may be a Sanskritised form of Greek *Demetrius*, and, from the context of the find of the seal, opined that he performed a *yajña*.[2] One need not be surprised by a Greek performing *yajña*. The foreigners who came to India in the wake of successful invasions and commercial enterprises, as a result of the dynamic and catholic spirit of the Indian culture and their own quality of adjustment and adaptability, gradually merged in the stream of indigenous culture. We have evidence of a Greek Heliodorus calling himself a *Bhāgavata* (devotee of Vishṇu)[3] a Kushāṇa Wima Kadphises declaring himself a *Māheśvara* (Śaiva),[4] and a Śaka Rudradāman claiming to be a protector of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas.[5] But, as noted earlier,[6] the person may as well have been a king of Indian origin.

M.G. Dikshit read the legend on a seal from Tripurī as *Viṭhuda*(or *Vibuda*) *Śakasa* (467). He opined that the Śaka came to Tripurī (the find-spot of the seal) in course of Śaka exodus from the Deccan as a result of the defeat of Nahapāna by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. We, however, are inclined to read the legend as *Viṭhudasakasa* (and not *Viṭhuda Śakasa*) and take the legend to be a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Vishṇudāsakasya*. The dialectic transforma-

1. *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 56.
2. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 78.
3. See *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 88-89.
4. Smith, *CCIM*, p. 68.
5. *Sel., Ins.*, p. 179.
6. *Supra*, pp. 29-30.

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tion of *Vishṇu* into *Viṭhu* is interesting and we may cite as its example the name *Viṭhusiṁha* (no. 468).

Names together with the native place

Sometimes the names are also coupled with the territory from which the person hailed. We have come across three such examples :

1. *Tirakasa Pa(kha)laye*[1]
   '[Seal] of Tiraka [an inhabitant] of Pushkalāvatī.'
2. *Sanigaputrasa (Spa)laverasa Kuph(e)*[2]
   '[seal] of Spalavera [an inhabitant] of Kabul'.
3. *Bhadramitrasya Droṇīghāṭe*
   '[seal] of Bhadramitra, in the Doon Valley (Dehradun)'.[3]

The practice of appending the name of the native locality continues to this day.[4] We may compare *Kuphe* with modern *Kābulī*. The tradition is, however, quite ancient and is to be met with even in the Vedic literature.[5]

Official or professional designations prefixed to the names

We have seen above (chapter III) that a large number of royal or official designations (like *amātya*, *kumārāmātya*, *daṇḍanāyaka*, *pratīhāra*, etc.) are prefixed to the names of individuals. Several seals from Basarh have the term *kulika*,[6] two as *prathama-kulika*,[7] two as *śreshṭhī*[8] and one as *sārtthavāha*[9] similarly prefixed. A Bhita sealing, likewise, has the term *śreshṭhī* similarly prefixed.[10]

Father's name or/and designation along with the name of the owner[11]

Some Royal seals, such as those belonging to the Imperial Gupta rulers, the Maukharis, Harsha and Bhāskaravarman (of Kāmarūpa) bear

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1. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 808, pl. facing p. 814. The legend is in Kharoshṭhī. There is also a *nandipada* symbol.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 807-08, no. 18, pl. facing p. 814. This is an impression from a broken bronze ring and shows the device of a man.
3. Information from Dr. S. P. Dabral.
4. Cf. Gorakhpuri, Lakhnavi, Banarasi, Dehlavi, Muradabadi, etc.
5. Cf. Bhīma Vaidarbha (*Ait. Br.*, 35.8) ; Janaka Vaideha (*Bṛi. Up.*, III.1.1).
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 114-16.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
10. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 2.
11. We have also discussed this aspect in our article 'Lineage and Nativity on Personal Seals'. (*Bull. of Mus. & Arch. in U. P.*, No. 2, pp. 27 ff.)

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elaborate genealogies.[1] The seals of some of the Ayodhya rulers[2] and a few others[3] contain the name of the owners and their fathers with or without titles. Amongst the officials or their sons, we have already referred to one Siṁha, son of a minister (*mantrī*)[4], one *Daṇḍanāyaka* Śrī-Sena, a son of Chetagirika[5] and an *Amātya* Hastabala, son of *Amātya* Bhadrika.[6] Similarly, seals bearing the legend meaning 'Sodika, son of *Śreshṭhī*'[7] and 'Gopa, son of *Śreshṭhī*'[8] have also been mentioned in the previous pages. It is interesting that seals of private individuals also occasionally contain parentage. Thus we have :

1. *Dinaputrasya Gopasya*[9]
   '[Seal] of Gopa, son of Dina'.
2. *Buddhatrāta-putrasya sagharakshitasya*[10]
   '[Seal]of Saṅgharakshita, son of Buddhatrāta'.
3. *Thi(?)ka putrasa Jayaśama(?)sa Roṭṭ(ḍḍ)isa*[11]
   '[Seal] of Jayaśama, Roṭṭi (?), son of Thika' (pl. I, 9).
4. *Sūryyabhartṛivarapu(tra)sya Vishṇug[u]ptasya*[12]
   '[Seal] of Vishṇugupta, son of Sūryabhartṛivara'.
5. *(S)kandagh(o)shaput(ra)sya Bhavaghoshasya*[13]
   '[Seal] of Bhavaghosha, son of Skandaghosha'.
6. *Mitraśamapūtrasa Baliasa*[14]
   '[Seal] of Balika, son of Mitraśarman' (pl, I, 10).
7. *Dharadāsasya Saṁdhiyaśa(ḥ)putrasya*[15].
   '[Seal] of Dharadāsa, son of Saṁdhiyaśas' (pl. XVIII, 6).

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1. See *supra*, Chapter II.
2. See *supra*, pp. 32-33.
3. See e.g. *supra*, pp. 55-56.
4. See *supra*, p. 99.
5. See *supra*, p. 115.
6. See *supra*, p. 100.
7. See *supra*, p. 229.
8. See *supra*, p. 230.
9. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 108, no. 14. *Dina* obviously is a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Datta*.
10. *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 813, pl. facing p. 814, no. 22.
11. From Hastinapur, *AI*, pp. 99-100, pl. LVIII A.
12. From Besnagar, *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 6 (four specimens).
13. From Besnagar, *ibid.*, no. 7 (two specimens).
14. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 809, pl. facing p. 814, no. 20. See also *supra*, p. 8, fn. 5.
15. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 3.

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8. *Somadevaputrasya Śrī-Somadattasya*[1]
   [Seal] of Śrī Somadatta, son of Somadeva'.

9. *Aśvilaputrasa Budhadevasa*[2]
   '[Seal] of Budhadeva, son of Aśvila'.

10. *Yolamoṇalatra(putra)sa Budhalatrasa*[3]
    '[Seal] of Budhalatra, son of Yolamoṇalatra'.

Generally, seals of private individuals are small in size ; evidently therefore, the addition of the name of the owner's father was deliberate and not without purpose. The importance of the practice of mentioning the father's name needs no elaboration. In fact, this practice, though in a somewhat different form, is met with even in the Vedic literature.[4] Even today the practice is quite common in some regions and communities and, very possibly, such was the practice even in ancient times. It is also possible that in some cases this inclusion of father's name was due to a high office or status held by him. At least in one of the above instances the father was a *mantrī*. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Śrī-Sena, however, mentions his father's name, although the latter does not seem to have held any office. Bhadrika and his son Hastabala were both *amātyas* and this suggests hereditary character of that office. Sodika, and Gopa, like Sīha, do not mention the name of their father but simply give their designations.

Mother's gotra with the name of the owner

Society being mainly patriarchal, matronymy is rarely mentioned. Its specification is purported to show high and pure descent from the mother's side or to indicate the mother in case the father was polygamous. The three examples we come across viz. Gautamīputra Śivamagha,[5] Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja[6] and Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena[7] were kings. The reference

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1. The legend occurs on a sealing from Sunet in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (no. A-11393-NS. 9136).
2. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 807, pl. no. 17.
3. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 208, no. 49.
4. Cf. Trasadasyu Paurukutsya (= son of Purukutsa) in *Ṛigveda*, 5.33.8 ; Śunaḥśepa Ājigarta (= son of Ajigarta) in *Ait. Br.*, 33. 5 ; Indrota Daivāpa (= son of Devāpi) in *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5.4.1.
5. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 26. Marshall reads the legend as —*m(e)ghasya* ; but see *supra*, p. 37.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51, no. 25 ; *supra*, p. 46.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 27 and pl. XLVIII. See also *supra*, p. 36, for an amendment of Marshall's reading.

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to a king along with the *gotra* of his mother, though met with in some North Indian epigraphs,[1] is a feature more common in South India.[2] No matronymic is met with on seals in the case of private individuals. The practice, however, is quite ancient and is met with even in the Vedic period.[3] It may, in passing, be mentioned that Pāṇiṇi[4] censures the practice of such names while Patañjali[5] stresses their importance. The *gotras* Vāsishṭhī and Gautamī were those of the father of the ladies and this shows that the *gotra* of ladies did not necessarily change with their marriage.[6]

Seals of women, other than queens, unknown

We have only four seals belonging to ladies, and all of them belong to queens. Three of them Prabhudamā (295), Rudramatī (327) and Dhruvasvāminī (129) (the same as Dhruvadevī) are mentioned by name but the fourth, Prabhāvatiguptā, simply calls herself as the mother of *yuvarāja*, without mentioning her own name.[7]

Dr. Motichandra refers to a Rajghat sealing bearing the legend Okharikā[8] (283). He points out that Lüders considered this name to be of Greek origin, but himself prefers to take it as an Indian name after *Okhalī* (mortar) which is not an uncommon name amongst the low caste people.[9] Since no ancient Indian seals of women other than queens (not to say of one from the low caste), are known to us, it would rather be skeptical to accept Dr. Motichandra's view. For ordinary Indian women, there was not much need to possess their own seals as, generally speaking, they did not make dealings independently. We may, as a contrast, mention that many of the ancient Hebrew seals belonged to women who, in the inscriptions thereon, are mentioned as wives or daughters of some body.[10]

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1. Barhut Buddhist Pillar Ins. of the time of the Śuṅgas, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 87; Pabhosa Cave Ins. of the time of Udāka, *ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
2. E. g. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 198-200) Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi (*ibid.*, pp. 202, 203, 207, 210, etc.). Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī (*ibid.*, p. 211); Vāsishṭhīputra Ikshvāku Śāntamūla (*ibid.*, p, 229), etc.
3. E. g. *Ṛigveda*, 1. 158, 6, Dīrghatamā Māmateya (= son of Mamatā); *ibid.*, IV. 26. 1 and VII. 19. 2, Kutsa Ārjuneya (= son of Arjunī).
4. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1. 147.
5. *Mahābhāshya*, VII, 3. 107.
6. Cf. Prabhāvatiguptā, queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 436, fn. 9).
7. See *supra*, p. 51.
8. *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 82.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, p. 14.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF NAMES ON SEALS

S. No.	*Name*	*Provenance*	*Reference*
1.	Abhaya	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. RJ, 6331.
1a.	Abhaya	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 191.
2.	Abhayavarman	Pāṭaliputra	*JBORS*, X, p. 190.
3.	Achyutavarman	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6357.
4.	Āditya	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 98.
5.	Ādityavardhana	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
6.	Ādityavarman	Nalanda	*ibid.*
7.	Agnigupta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 11.
8.	Agnimitra	Vaiśālī	*JBRS*, XLV, p. 314.
9.	Agnivarman	Taleshwar	*EI*, XIII, pp. 109-21.
10.	Ahivarman	Wala	*IA*, XII, p. 275.
11.	Ajapāla	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 43.
12.	Amaradatta	Rajghat	Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
13.	Āmradāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 142.
14.	Anantadatta	Bhita	*ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 59, no. 99.
15.	Anantadevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
16.	Anuttara	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6376.
17.	Apsarodevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
17a.	Āryadasna	Kauśāmbī	Allahabad Museum, no. 237.
17b.	Āryagupta*	Sonkh	*Bull of Mus. and Arch. in U. P.*, No. 5-6, pp. 1-2.
18.	Āryanandi	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 45.
19.	Āryarakshita	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 93.

*The possibility of reading the name as *Sūryagupta* has also been included (*Bull.* of *Mus. and Arch.*, in U. P. nos. 5-6, pp. 1-2).

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(*Continued*)

20.	Āryaru(ṛi)shideva	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 46.
21.	Āryaśarmā	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6362.
22.	Āryyabhaṭṭa(?)	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 44.
23.	Aśvaghosha	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 54.
24.	Aśvamitra	Basarh	Directorate of Arch. & Mus., Bihar Govt., Patna.
25.	Aśvila	Unknown	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
26.	Avantivarman	Nalanda	*EI*, XXIV, p. 285.
27.	Avarighsa	Unknown	*Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 275 ff.
28.	Bala	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 66, no. 68.
29.	Balabhadra	Sanghol	*JNSI*, XXX, p. 221.
30.	Baladatta	Śrāvastī (Sahet-Mahet)	*IAR*, 1958-59, p. 50.
31.	Baladeva	Rajbadidanga	*JAS*, (*NS*), VIII, p. 48, no. 22.
32.	Balaka	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
32a.	Balika	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 809.
33.	Balamitra	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 171.
34.	Balanandi	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum.
35.	Balavarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
36.	Balika	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 809, no. 20.
37.	Ballāla	Kesur	*JNSI*, XV, p. 124.
38.	Barbarika	Kauśāmbī	*JUPHS*, XII, p. 85, no. 5.
39.	Bargga	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 48.
40.	Bhabhala	Kauśāmbī	With a dealer in Allahabad.
41.	Bhadila	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 94.
42.	Bhadra	Rajghat	*Classical Age*, p. 553.
43.	Bhadra	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 104, no. 8.
44.	Bhadradāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 128, no. 70, p. 129, no. 81, etc.
45.	Bhadraka	Bhita	*Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 67.

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(*Continued*)

46.	Bhadrāksha	Sankisa	*JUPHS*, III (iii), p. 108.
47.	Bhadrapālaka	Rupar	*Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, p. 126.
48.	Bhadrarakshita	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 135, no. 227.
49.	Bhagadatta	Basarh	*Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 71.
50.	Bhagadatta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
51.	Bhagala	Kauśāmbī	Allahabad Museum, no. 93.
52.	Bhagasiṁha	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 104, no. 7.
53.	Bhagavachchandra	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 30.
54.	Bharata	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan (pl. XXIV, 8).
55.	Bhārggava	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 148-49, no. 590.
56.	(Bhā)skaravarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
57.	Bhaṭārka	Valabhī	*Supra*, p. 80.
58.	Bhavadāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112.
59.	Bhavadeva	Nandpur	*JNSI*, III, p. 101, no. 49.
60.	Bhavaghosha	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 7.
61.	Bhavana	Basarh	*Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 110, 148, no. 575.
62.	Bhavasena	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan.
62a.	Bhavasena	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 50.
62b.	Bhavita	Kauśāmbī	Allahabad Museum, no. 49,191.
63.	Bhīmadeva	Rajghat	Lucknow Museum, no. 49, 191.
64.	Bhīmapāla	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 87.
65.	Bhīmasena	Bhita	*Ibid.*, p. 51, no. 27.
65a.	Bhīmasena	Arang	*EI*, IX, pp. 242 ff.
66.	Bilvedāsa	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58.
67.	Bhogavatī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
68.	Bhubhula	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 72.
69.	Bhutaka	Bhita	*Ibid.*, p. 57, no. 71.
70.	Bh(ū)tarakshita	Bangarh	Goswami, *Excavations at Bangarh*, p. 12.

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(*Continued*)

71.	Bhūtivarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
72.	Bodha	Unknown.	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 106.
73.	Boḷa	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, no. 39.
74.	Boṭila	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
75.	Brahmadatta	Taxila	Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680, no. 24.
76.	Brahmagupta (leg. *Brahmaūlta*)	Nagpur	*JNSI*, III, p. 102.
77.	Brahmapālita	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 112, no. 51.
78.	Brahmarakshi(ta)	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 112, no. 52.
79.	Buddhadeva	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 129, no. 86.
80.	Buddhadeva	Sahet-Mahet	*Ibid.*, 1907-08, p. 128.
81.	Budhagupta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 64.
82.	Buddhaka	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 126, no. 61.
83.	Buddhamitra	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 152, no. 733.
84.	Buddhatrāta	Udaipur(?)	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 813.
85.	Chakradāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 113, no. 54.
86.	Chandra-bodhi	Tripurī	*IAR*, 1967-68, p. 23.
87.	Chandradevī	Nalanda	*EI*, XIX, p. 273.
88.	Chandragupta (I)	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 65.
89.	Chandragupta (II)	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 65.
90.	Chandramukha-varman	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 70.
91.	Cheṭa*	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 150, no. 630.
92.	Chetagirika	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 5.
93.	Chita (Chitra?)	Pāṭaliputra	*JBORS*, X, p. 190.
94.	Chitraka	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 82.
95.	Chuchaka	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 91.
96.	Dadda	Kair	*CII*, IV(i), p. 57.

*To this and to nos 98, 153 and 154 there is *śrī* prefixed. See under nos. 384, 385, 386 and 387 respectively.

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(Continued)

97.	Darpaka	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 153.
98.	Dāsa*	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 110.
99.	Datta	Jhusi	Allahabad Museum, no. 356.
100.	Dattadevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 64.
101.	Dattadevī	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 70.
102.	Devamatī (restored)	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 70.
103.	Devarakshita	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 99.
104.	Devasiṁha	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 72.
105.	Devasvāmī	Rajghat	Lucknow Museum.
106.	Devila	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 152-53, no. 768.
107.	Dhaṇ(n?)a	Basarh	*Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 72.
108.	Dhanabhūti	Kauśāmbī	*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 5.
109.	Dhanabhūti	Rajghat	Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch., B. H. U.
110.	Dhanadaka	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 151, no. 722.
111.	Dhanadeva	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, nos. 6405-6409.
112.	Dhanala	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 82.
113.	Dhanamitra	Rajghat	*Ibid.*, p. 100; Allahabad Museum, no. 15.
114.	Dharadāsa	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 3.
115.	Dharanandi	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 45.
116.	Dharasena	Maliya	*CII*, III, no. 38, p. 164.
117.	Dharmadeva	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 37.
118.	Dharmamitra	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 217, no. 64.
119.	Dharmmapriya	Pāṭaliputra	*ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 82, no. 8.
120.	Dharmarakshita	Taxila	Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680, no. 15.
121.	Dharmasena	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 105.

*See note on no. 91 on the preceding page.

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(*Continued*)

122.	Dhenuka	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 82.
123.	Dhṛitiśarmā	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6103.
124.	Dhruvadatta	Kauśāmbī	*IAR*, 1954-55, p. 18.
125.	Dhruvadevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 64.
126.	Dhruvalakshmī (restored)	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 70.
127.	Dhruvanandī	Basarh	Deva and Mishra, *Vaśālī Excavations*, p. 57.
128.	Dhruvaśarmmā	Ghora Katora	*JBORS*, XX (i), p. 109.
129.	Dhruvasvāminī	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, no. 1.
130.	Dina	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 108, no. 14.
131.	Doḍḍa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 117, no. 105.
132.	Dravaka	Eran	*IAR*, 1964-65, p. 18.
133.	Dvijavarman	Taleshwar	*EI*, XIII, p. 109, fn.
134.	Gada	Takht-i-Bahi	*ASIAR*, 1902-03, p. 167.
135.	Gaṇapativarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
136.	Gaṅgadeva	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 56, no. 54.
137.	Gaurīdāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 74.
138.	Gaurīdāsa	Bhita	*Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 7.
139.	Ghaṭotkacha	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
140.	Ghaṭotkachagupta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
141.	Ghosaka	Unknown	With a dealer at Allahabad.
142.	Ghosha	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 113, no. 54.
142a.	Golika	Masaon	*IAR*, 1964-65, p. 43.
143.	Gomika	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 113, no. 59.
144.	Gomisvāmī	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 113, no. 60.
145.	Gomuṇḍaka	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 113, no. 61.
146.	Goṇḍa	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 113, no. 62.
147.	Gopa	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 108.
148.	Gopāla	Kumrahar	*ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 82, no. 2A.

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(*Continued*)

149.	Gopasena	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 60 ; *ABIHI*, III, p. xlviii.
150.	Grāmabala	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 45.
151.	Guhāditya	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 98.
152.	Gupta (leg. *Guttaya*)	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 814.
153.	Gupta*	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
154.	Gupta*	Sunet	*Supra*, p. 65, pl. III, 6.
155.	Hari	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 76 ; p. 115, no. 77.
156.	Haribhaṭṭa	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 99.
157.	Haridatta	Rajghat	*Ibid.*
158.	Haridāsa	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 99.
159.	Harigupta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 113, no. 65.
160.	Hariśarman	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 104.
161.	Hariśchandra	Taxila	*ASIAR*, 1915-16, p. 30, no. 14.
162.	Harisheṇa	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.
163.	Harivarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
164.	Harsha	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 69.
165.	Harshaguptā	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 68.
166.	Haśika	Kumrahar	*JBORS*, XX, p. 5. no. 6.
167.	Hastabala	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 134, no. 210.
168.	Hastadeva	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 130, no. 94; p. 149, no. 604.
169.	Hastika	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
170.	Hastika (leg. *Hathika*)	Buxur	*JBORS*, XVII, p. 410.
171.	Hastin	Khoh	*CII*, III, I, no. 21, p. 94.
172.	Hastipāla	Kauśāmbī	Allahabad Museum.
173.	Hastisena (leg. *Hathisena*)	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 60.

*See note on no. 91, on p. 299, above.

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(*Continued*)

174.	Indradatta	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 80.
175.	Indragupta	Sunet	*PASB*, 1884, p. 138.
176.	Indramitra	Sankisa	Allahabad Museum, no. 223.
177.	Indraśarman[1]	Sambhar	*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 192.
178.	Īśānadāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 138 and 140, no. 321-B.
179.	Īśānasiṁha	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 71, fn. 2.
180.	Īśānavarman	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 68.
180a.	Isila[2]	—	*JOIB*, XVII, pp. 166-67, pl. facing p. 166.
181.	Īśvarachandra	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 36.
182.	Īśvaradāsa	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 104, no. 14.
183.	Īśvaradatta	Rajghat	Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
184.	Īśvarānana	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, no. 41.
185.	Īśvaravarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
186.	Jābāli	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 175.
187.	Jajja	Sunet	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
188.	Jala	Rajghat	Deptt. of A. I. H., Cul. & Arch., B. H. U.
189.	Janārdana	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
190.	Jarīva	Nalanda	*IHQ*, XIX, p. 188.
191.	Jayadeva	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 67.
192.	Jayanta	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 33.
193.	Jayanta	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum (pl. XXIV, 6).

1. The legend is *Iṁdasamasa*. It can also be rendered as *Indrasamasya*.
2. The legend is *Isilasa*. There is a dot after the last letter. The reading given by Bhat is *Isalashant* (*JOIB*, XVII, pp. 166-67).

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(*Continued*)

194.	Jayarāja	Arang	*CII*, III, no. 40, p. 193.
195.	Jayasena	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 70.
196.	Jayasvāminī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
197.	Jayavasuda	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 2.
198.	Jeṭhadatta	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6329, 6330, etc.
199.	Jinarakshita	Rājagṛiha	*ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 102.
200.	Jyeshṭhamitra	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.
201.	Kachara	Masaon	*IAR*, 1964-65, p. 43.
202.	Kajamitra	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 132, no. 164.
203.	Kalabhaka	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 413.
204.	Kalyāṇavarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
205.	Kaṇadāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 141, no. 356; p. 142, no. 379.
206.	Kanishka	Kauśāmbī	Deptt. of A. I. H., Cul. & Arch., Allahabad University.
207.	Kaṅka	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 133, no. 193; 134, no. 209 etc.
208.	Kapilaka	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
209.	Kauśika	Lachchhagir	Allahabad Museum, no. 240.
210.	Kauśikadeva	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 89.
211.	Keśava	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 69.
212.	Keśavadāsa	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 47.
213.	Keśavadatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114, no. 68.
214.	Keśavadatta	Sankisa	Lucknow Museum, no. B/824.
215.	Keśavaśarmā	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 99.
216.	Kīrtisvāmi	Rajghat	Lucknow Museum.
217.	Kṛishṇadatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 115, no. 78.

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(*Continued*)

218.	Kṛishṇadatta	Baswa (Distt. Etah)	Lucknow Museum, no. 60.81.
219.	Kṛishṇasena	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.
220.	Kuloṭa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 116, no. 88.
221.	Kumāradāsa or Kumāradarśa*	Ghora Katora (Distt. Patna)	*JBORS*, XX, pp. 5-6, no. 8, pl. I.
222.	Kumāradevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
223.	Kumāragupta (I)	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
224.	Kumāragupta (II) or (III)	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, 66, p. 67.
225.	Kumāravarman	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82.
226.	Lakshmaṇa (?)	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 116, no. 89.
227.	Lakshmaṇa	Pali	*EI*, II, pp. 363-65.
228.	Lakshmīvatī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
229.	Lavaṇa (?)	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 116, no. 90.
230.	Lavkhāṇa	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70, fn. 8.
231.	Lapagora	Kumrahar	*JBORS*, X, p. 190.
232.	Māgha	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 80.
233.	Mahākāśika	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 149, no. 624.
234.	Mahāsenaguptā	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
235.	Mahāśira	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
236.	Mahendravarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
237.	Maheśvaranāga	Lahore	*CII*, III, p. 283, no. 77.
238.	Mama	Bulandibagh	*JBORS*, X, p. 190, no. 1.
239.	Mamā[ka]	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 65.
240.	Mamala	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 131, no. 160.
241.	Mamma	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1900, p. 105.
241a.	Mānya	Sunet	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 101.

*As proposed by Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XX, p. 5).

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(*Continued*)

242.	Mānyāditya	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
243.	Mātṛidāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 116, no. 92.
244.	Mātṛiśarmā	Kauśāmbī	Allahabad Museum, no. 362.
245.	Mātṛisoma	Sunet	*JNSI*, XX p. 67.
246.	Mattila	Bulandshahr	*IA*, XVIII, 1889, p. 289.
247.	Melyādevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 71.
248.	Mitradeva	Basarh	Directorate of Arch. & Mus., Bihar Govt., Patna.
249.	Mitradevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
250.	Mitraśarmā	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 809, no. 20.
251.	Muṇḍa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 131, no. 120.
252.	Muṇḍaka (leg. *Muḍaka*)	Patna	*JBORS*, X, p. 192.
252a.	Mūla	Kauśāmbī	Allahabad Museum, no. 438.
253.	Mūlasena	Basarh	Directorate of Arch. & Mus., Bihar Govt., Patna; *IAR*, 1959-60, pl. IXB.
254.	Nāga	Basarh	Directorate of Arch. & Mus., Bihar Govt. Patna, no. 270/G.
254a.	Nāga	Ahichchhatrā	Antiquity Section of the Arch. Surv. of India, pl. XXI, 9.
255.	Nāgabhadra	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 8.
256.	Nāgabhaṭa	Lahore	*CII*, III, no. 77, p. 283.
257.	Nāgadāma	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54, no. 40.
258.	Nāgadatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 115, no. 79.
259.	Nāgadatta	Jhusi	Allahabad Museum, no. 310, pl. XIX, 10.
260.	Nāgadeva	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 5.
261.	Nāgapāla	Ahichchhatrā	Allahabad Museum, no. 133.
262.	Nāgārjuna	Rajghat	*DHI*, p. 189.
263.	Nāgaśarmmā	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6247.

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(*Continued*)

264.	Nāgaśarmā	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 126, no. 55 ; p. 129, no. 82.
265.	Nāgasiṁha	Basarh	*Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 116, no. 200 ; *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 137-8, no. 272B, p. 140, no. 318.
266.	Nāgavarsha	Basarh	*Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 150, no. 670.
267.	Nalaśrī	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
268.	Nanda	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 115, no. 80.
269.	Nandī	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 20.
270.	Naṁdikara	Sonkh	*Bull. of Mus. & Arch. in U. P.*, No. 3, p. 4.
271.	Narasiṁhagupta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 65.
272.	Naravardhana	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 68.
273.	Nārāyaṇa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 144, no. 489.
274.	Nārāyaṇadāsa	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 143, no 419A.
275.	Nārāyaṇadatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p 117, no. 95.
276.	Nārāyaṇavarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
277.	Narendra	Pipardula	*IHQ*, XIX, pp. 139 ff.
278.	Nava	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6334.
279.	Nāvika	Kosam (Kauśāmbī)	*JUPHS*, XII, p. 84.
280.	Nayamitra	Sahet-Mahet	*ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 108, no. 3.
281.	Nayanaśobhā	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
282.	Nityaśīha	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 92.
283.	Okharikā	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 82 ; *ABIHI*, III, p. xlviii.
284.	Pālaka	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
285.	Pālasena	Rajghat	*Ibid.*, p. 97.

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286.	Parākrama	Sunet	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 102, no. 3.
287.	Parvata	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXX, pp. 218-19, pl. XI, no. 11.
288.	Paśupatisiṁha	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 72.
289.	Phalgu	Manwa Dih	Deptt. of Arch., U. P., Lucknow.
290.	Phalgunandī	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 60.
291.	Phalgunimitra	Rajghat	*Supra*, p. 32.
292.	Phalgusena	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 37.
293.	Piśācha	Kutch	*IHQ*, II, p. 158.
294.	Prabhākaravardhana	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
295.	Prabhudamā	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 136, no. 248.
296.	Prakāśanandī	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 117.
297.	Pravara	Mallar	*EI*, XXXIV, pp. 51-52.
298.	Pravararāja	Thakurdiya	*EI*, XXII, pp. 15 ff.
299.	Pravarasena	Chammak	*CII*, III, no. 55, p. 236.
300.	Pugasirasi	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 57.
301.	Purugupta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
302.	Pushya	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 56, no. 63.
303.	Pushyamitra (leg. *Pusamita*)	Bhita	*Ibid.*, p. 56, no. 64.
304.	Pushyavarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
305.	Pus(sh)yavṛiddhi	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 6.
306.	Pushyeṇa	Wala	*IA*, XII, p. 275.
307.	Rājyavardhana (I)	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
308.	Rājyavardhana (II)	Nalanda	*Ibid.*, p. 68.
309.	Ramyāksha	Sankisa	*JUPHS*, III, 1927, p. 108.
310.	Rāmasvāmī	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 104, no. 12.
311.	Rasika	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
312.	Raṭhika	Kauśāmbī	*JUPHS*, XII, p. 84, no. 2.
313.	Ratnamatī	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 65.

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314.	Ratnavatī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
315.	Ravidāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 117, no. 101.
316.	Ravidatta	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan.
317.	Revatīmitra	Rajghat	Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Archaeology, B. H. U.
318.	Ripuśalya	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 106, no. 13.
319.	Roh(i)ni(ṇī)	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 103, no. 3.
320.	Rudrachandra	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 117, no. 103.
321.	Rudr(ā)ch(ā)rya	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, no. 4.
322.	Rudradeva	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 129, no. 84; p. 154, no. 826.
323.	Rudradeva	Nandpur (near Nagpur)	*JNSI*, III, p. 101.
324.	Rudradeva	Jhusi	*JNSI*, XVI, p. 6.
325.	Rudraghosha	Sahet-Mahet	*ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 108.
326.	Rudramagha	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.
327.	Rudramatī	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, no. 30.
328.	Rudrarakshita	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 136, no. 239; 137, no. 264; 142, no. 397.
329.	Rudraśarmā	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 103.
330.	Rudrasena	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 136, no. 248.
331.	Rudrasiṁha	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 136, no. 248.
332.	Rudrasiṁha	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 78.
333.	Sāgarasiṁha	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 72.
334.	Samāchāradeva	Nalanda	*MASI*, 65, p. 32 fn.
335.	Saṁdhiyaśas	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48.
336.	Saṁghadatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 130, no. 97.
337.	Saṁghamitra	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan.

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338.	Saṁgharakshita	Udaipur (?)	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 813.
339.	Saṁkshobha	Khoh	*CII*, III, no. 25, p. 112.
340.	Samudragupta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
341.	Samudravarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
342.	Śaṅkaradatta	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 54-55, no. 44.
343.	Śaṅkaranāga	Jhusi	Allahabad Museum, no, Jh. 130.
344.	Śaṅkarasiṁha	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, no. 34.
345.	Śarmā	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 103, no. 6.
346.	Sarvadāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 136, no. 232.
347.	Sarvadatta	Rairh	*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 194.
348.	Śarvanātha	Khoh	*CII*, III, p. 125, no. 28.
349.	Sarvatāta	Sambhar	*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 192.
350.	Śarvavarman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
351.	Śaśāṅka	Rohtasgarh	*CII*, III, p. 284.
352.	Satyatrāta	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 83.
353.	Satyavasu	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 52.
354.	Satyavrata	Rajghat	*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 413.
355.	Saumila	Ahichchhatrā	Allahabad Museum, no. 245.
356.	Śauryavarmā	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
357.	Savaka	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 65.
358.	Sena	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 5.
359.	Shashṭhidāsa	Pāṭaliputra	*ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 83.
360.	Shashṭhidatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 109.
361.	Shashṭhimitra	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 98.
362.	Siddhārtha	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 105.
363.	Siddharakshita	Ghora Kotora (Distt. Patna)	*JBORS*, XX, p. 5, no. 7.
364.	Śikhaṇḍavāsī	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.

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365.	Śīla	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 95.
366.	Siṁha (leg. *Sīha*)	Taxila	Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 27.
366a.	Siṁha	Rajghat	Deptt. of A.I.H., C. & Arch., B. H. U., pl. XIX, 13.
367.	Siṁha (leg. *Sīha*)	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 105, no. 11.
368.	Siṁhadatta	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
369.	Siṁhanandī	Eran	*Bull.* of *A.I.H. & Arch.*, Sagar University, no. 1, p. 125.
370.	Siṁha Śrī-sena	Eran	*Bull. of A. I. H. & Arch.*, Sagar University, no. 1, pp. 9-10.
371.	Siṁhatrāta	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 83, no. 4.
372.	Śiva Bodhi	Tripurī	*Bull.* of *A.I.H. & Arch.*, Sagar University, no. 1, pp. 126-27.
373.	Śivacheṭaka	Rajghat	*ABIHI*, III, p. xlviii.
374.	Śivadatta (?)	Kauśāmbī	*IAR*, 1954-55, p. 18.
374a.	Śivadatta	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 32, pl. XVII, 7.
375.	Śivala	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 108.
376.	Śivamagha	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 26.
376a.	Śivamagha	Rajghat	*Surpa*, p. 37.
377.	Śivanandī	Unknown	Lucknow Museum, no. S,607.
378.	Śivarakshita	Taxila	Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 26.
379.	Skandaghosha	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 7.
380.	Skandaśūra	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 83.
381.	Sodika	Ahichchhatrā	Antiquity Section of the Arch. Surv. of India, New Delhi.
382.	Somadatta	Sunet	Indian Museum, no. A.11393-NS. 9136.
383.	Somadeva	Sunet	Indian Museum, no. A.11393-NS. 9136.
384.	Śrīcheṭa*	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 150, no. 630.

*See note on no. 91, p. 299.

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385.	Śrīdāsa*	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 110.
386.	Śrīgupta*	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 66.
387.	Śrīgupta*	Sunet	*JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 98-99.
388.	Śrīnda	Kasia	*ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 64, no. 23.
389.	Sthira(Sthita)-Varman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
390.	Sudevarāja	Arang	*CII*, III, no. 41, p. 197.
391.	Sumati	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
392.	Supratishṭhita-varman	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
393.	Śūragupta	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
394.	Sūryyabhartṛivara	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 6.
395.	Sūryamitra	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 104, no. 7.
396.	Sūryavarmā	Kauśāmbī	With an antiquity-dealer at Allahabad.
397.	Susthitavarmā	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
398.	Suvimala	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
399.	Suviśākhadatta	Rajghat	*Ibid.*, p. 98.
400.	Svāmī	Rajghat	Lucknow Mueum, no. 42.62/11.
400a.	Svāmī	Sahet-Mahet	*ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 108, no. 4.
401.	Svāmīdatta	Kauśāmbī	With a dealer at Allahabad.
402.	Svāmīnāga	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 103, no. 5.
403.	Śvetabhadra	Sankisa	*JUPHS*, III, p. 108.
404.	Tanudāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 149, no. 606.
405.	Theudama	Bajaur	*CII*, II, p. 6.
406.	Ṭimitra	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 83, no. 18.
407.	Tiraka	Unknown	*JRAS*, 1905, p. 808.
408.	Tīvaradeva	Rajim	*CII*, III, p 294, no. 81.

*See note on no. 91, p. 299.

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409.	Toramāṇa	Kauśāmbī	Deptt. of A. H., C. & Arch., Allahabad University.
410.	Toshita	Jhusi	Allahabad Museum, no. 158.
411.	Trivikrama	Sankisa	*JUPHS*, III, p. 108.
412.	Ugra	Kauśāmbī	*JUPHS*, XII, p. 85.
413.	Ugrasena	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 116, no. 86.
414.	Umabhaṭṭa	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 116, no. 87.
415.	Upachaḍa	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 52 (pl. XXXII, 4).
416.	Upaguptā	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
417.	Vaḍa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 113.
418.	Vadhapāla	Kauśāmbī	*Supra*, p. 27.
419.	Vainyagupta	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 67.
420.	Vajika	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 152, no. 760.
421.	Vajriṇīdevī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 68.
422.	Vallabha	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 99.
423.	Vaṅśa (?)	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 51.
424.	Vāra	Bhita	*Ibid.*, p. 53, no. 37b.
425.	Varadatta	Rajghat	Lucknow Museum, no. 49. 189.
426.	Varāha	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 115.
427.	Varāha	Kotwara (Distt. Kheri)	Lucknow Museum, no. 55. 268.
428.	Varāhadatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 114.
428a.	Varāhadatta	Basarh	*Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 151, no. 708.
429.	Varāhadatta	Vidiśā	*IAR*, 1967-68, p. 53.
430.	Varāhadatta	Pakna Bihar	*ASR*, XI, p. 37, no. 10.
431.	Vargapāla	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 116.
432.	Varmma	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 116, no. 85.

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433.	Varuṇaka	Mati	Lucknow Museum, no. 53.89.
434.	Vasu Bodhi	Tripurī	*Bull. of An. Ind. Hist. & Archaeology*, No. 1, pp. 100, 126-27.
435.	Vasubhūti	Rairh	*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 194.
436.	Vasudatta	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 117.
437.	Vasudeva (?)	Basarh	*Ibid.*, p. 118, no. 118.
438.	Vatsaśaka	Unknown	British Museum, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 124, no. 5.
439.	Vedamitra	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
440.	Vijayamitra	Rajghat	Allahabad Museum, no. 305.
441.	Vijñānavatī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
442.	Vīradāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 142, no. 364.
443.	Vīradeva	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
444.	Vīravuddhī	Rajbadidanga	*JAS(NS)*, VIII, p. 46, no. 5.
445.	Viruḍhanāgā	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 74.
446.	Viśākhadatta	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 98.
447.	Vishṇuchandra	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 57, no. 81.
448.	Vishṇudāsa	Rajghat	Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6403.
449.	Vishṇudāsa	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 127, no. 65.
450.	Vishṇudāsa	Rajghat	Deptt. of A. I. H., C. & Arch., B. H. U., no. 455.
450a.	Vishṇudāsa	Sunet	*JRAS*, 1901, p. 98.
451.	Vishṇudatta	Unknown	Lucknow Museum, no. S 2375.
452.	Vishṇudatta	Sanghol	*JNSI*, XXX, p. 220.
453.	Vishṇugupta	Nalanda	*EI*, XXVI, p. 235.
454.	Vishṇugupta	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 100.
455.	Vishṇugupta	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 82, no. 6.
456.	Vishṇumitra	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 143, no. 4-1.
457.	Vishṇumitra	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 99.

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(*Continued*)

458.	Vishṇunandī	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 104, no. 13.
459.	Vishṇusvāmī	Jhusi	Allahabad Museum, no. 395.
460.	Vishṇutrāta	Sunet	Indian Museum, no. A 12861-NS 4676.
461.	Vishṇuvarman	Taleshwar	*EI*, XIII, p. 109.
462.	Vishṇuvarman	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118.
463.	Viśvāmitra	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 81, no. 1.
464.	Viśvāmitra	Taxila	Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 681, no. 28. (leg. *Viśpamitrasa*).
465.	Viśvāmitra	Kumrahar	Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 105, no. 19.
466.	Viśvarūpa (?)	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 118, no. 120.
467.	Viṭhudasaka	Tripurī	*JNSI*, XVI, p. 74, no. 3, pl. II, 25 and 25A.
468.	Viṭhusiṁha	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 58, no. 85.
469.	Vṛishadhvaja	Bhita	*Ibid.*, pp. 50-51, no. 25.
470.	Vṛishavarman	Taleshwar	*EI*, XIII, pp. 109 ff.
471.	Vyāghrapāla	Kauśāmbī	With a dealer at Allahabad.
472.	Vyāghrarāja	Mallar	*EI*, XXXIV, p. 45.
473.	Vyāghravala	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 125, no. 14; p. 132, no. 167.
474.	Yajñasoma	Basarh	*ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 125, 142, no. p. 398.
475.	Yajñaśrī (?)	Besnagar	*ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 81.
476.	Yajñavatī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, p. 70.
477.	Yajñavī(rya)	Bhita	*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 55, no. 48.
478.	Yakshanāga	Bhita	*Ibid.*, p. 59, no.100.
479.	Yaśomatī	Nalanda	*MASI*, 66, pp. 68-69.
480.	Yolamoṇalatra	Taxila	Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 680.
481.	Yugandhara	Rajghat	*Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 101.

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APPENDIX A

NAMES OF SHRINES, MONASTERIES AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Below is appended an alphabetically arranged list of the names of shrines, monasteries and administrative divisions occurring on seals. Most of them have already been referred to in earlier chapters[1] where, in a few cases, their identifications have also been discussed.

Ahichchhatrā bhukti—This also finds mention in the Banskhera Copper-plate Inscription of Harsha.[2] From the epigraph we learn that the *vishayas* of Kuṇḍadhānī and Aṅgadīya were included in this *bhukti*. The chief city of this *bhukti* was of the same name[3] and its ruins are situated about seven miles to the north of Aonla, a town in Bareilly District and about half a mile from the village of Ramnagar.

Airikiṇa—The Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta refers to Airikiṇa as a *pradeśa*[4] whereas it is called a *vishaya* in an inscription of Toramāṇa.[5] The chief city of this subdivision bore the same name as revealed from an inscription of the Śaka king Śrīdharavarman[6] and is identified with modern Eran, a village on the left bank of the river Bina, eleven miles to the west-by-north from the town Khurai, in Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh.[7] Recent excavations at the site have pushed back the antiquity of Eran to at least mid-second millennium B. C.

Aṁkoṭhasattā—A village, unidentified.

Ārogyavihāra—A monastery of that name, unidentified.

Āmrātakeśvara—A Śaiva shrine at Varanasi.

Avimukteśvara—A Śaiva shrine at Varanasi.

Bandhana—An abbreviated form of Makuṭabandhana, a locality after which the *vihāra* was named and detailed below.

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1. For references, the index may be consulted.
2. *EI*, IV, pp. 208ff.
3. The name has been also spelt as Chhatravatī (*Mbh. Ādi P.*, Chap. 168, 24 ; *vide*, Law, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 64) Adhichchhatrā (*EI*, II, p. 64).
4. *CII*, III, no. 2, p. 20, line 25.
5. *Ibid.*, no. 36, p. 160, line 7.
6. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 609.
7. *Ibid.*, III, p. 18.

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Bhallāṭavāṭaka—An *agrahāra* village, unidentified.

Bhūtikā—A village, unidentified.

Chitragrāma[1]—A village, unidentified. It is tempting to suggest its identification with Chitrakūṭa.

Chundīraka—An *agrahāra*, unidentified.

Droṇīghāṭa[2]—Doon Valley.

Dvitrā—A village, unidentified.

Gabhastīśvara—A shrine at Varanasi.

Gayā—A district in Bihar and also its headquarters.

Ghanañjana—A village, unidentified.

Gomika—A district, unidentified.

Isila—It also occurs in an Aśokan inscription at Brahmagiri and has been identified with that place. It is difficult to say whether the present sealing refers to the same.

Jāteyagrāma[3]—A village, unidentified.

Kālapināgagrāma—The village seems to be the same as *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka* of Hiuen-tsang which he mentions as situated near Nalanda and as the birth-place of Sāriputra[4], the favourite disciple of the Buddha.

Kālañjara—A hill and town in Bundelkhand.

Koṭivarsha-adhishṭhāna—The city of Koṭivarsha has been identified with Devikot, eighteen miles south of Dinajpur.[5] The district with the same name was under Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* and included Gokalikā and Halāvarta *maṇḍalas*.[6]

Kṛimilā Vishaya—Three sealings from Nalanda refer to Kṛimilā *vishaya*.[7] The same *vishaya* is mentioned in the Nalanda spurious copper-plate of Samudragupta[8] and the Monghyr copper-plate of the Pāla King, Devapāla (first half of the 9th century A.D.),[9] which refers to it as a *vishaya* in Śrī-Nagara

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1. From Bhita, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 69.
2. Legend-*Bhadramitrasya Droṇīghāṭe*, from Dehradun (Jayachandra Vidyalankara, *Prāchīna Panjāb aur usakā Paḍosa* [Hindi] p. 6). I owe this reference to Dr. S. P. Dabral.
3. From Bihta, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 108, no. 59.
4. Watters, *On yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 172.
5. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 25.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
7. *MASI*, 66, pp. 53-4, no. S. I, 824 pl. VI, e; *ibid.*, p. 54, no. S. I, 346 and 802, pl. VI f.
8. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 270-72, at p. 71.
9. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 304-07; *IA*, XXI, pp. 253-58, (at p. 256, text line 30).

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bhukti. Four inscriptions of the Pāla period on images or pedestals of lost images—three of them found in the village Valgudar (or Vargujar) near Rajauna and Chauki and the fourth from Rajauna itself—convey that the images were installed at Kṛimilā or the *adhiṣṭhāna* (city) of that name.[1]

These inscriptions definitely suggest that the city of Kṛimilā was the headquarters of the *vishaya* of the same name and the latter formed part of Śrī-Nagara *bhukti* within the dominions of the Pālas. The city of Kṛimilā was at the very site where the village of Valgudar now stands, and the *vishaya* itself is to be located in the area around the village of Valgudar, roughly on the western fringe of the Monghyr District to the south of the Ganga between the land around Patna and adjoining Monghyr.[2] It may be noted that the village of Kavāla in the Kṛimilā *vishaya*, mentioned in one of seals found at Nalanda, has now been identified with the present village of Kawali near Valgudar.[3]

Kauśāmbī—A city, identified with modern village Kosam, about 30 miles south-west of Allahabad. It was the capital of the Vatsa kingdom, whose King, Udayana, is so well-known. Excavations at the site have yielded interesting cultural sequences corroborating some literary evidence.

Kavālagrāma—Perhaps identical with the present village of Kawali, near Nalanda.

Kosala—In the present context, this refers to South Kosala.

Lolārka—A shrine of the Sun at Varanasi.

Magadha-bhukti—It included the districts of Gaya and Patna.[4]

Mahāparinirvāṇa vihāra—Hundreds of sealings referring to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāra* have been unearthed at Kasia.[5] The 'Convent of the Great Decease' was, undoubtedly, situated at Kuśīnārā where the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Lord took place. The find of a seal-die of Vishṇudvīpa *vihāra* at Kasia led Vogel to suspect that the site might represent Veṭhadīpa (which he takes to be the Pali equivalent of Sanskrit Vishṇudvīpa) and not Kuśīnārā.[6] He also explained the presence of the *mahāparinirvāṇa* sealings by assuming that

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1. Sircar, *IHQ*, XXVI, p. 139 ff. The same article reproduced in *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 193-97 ; Banerji, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 177-78.
2. *IHQ*, XXVI, p. 141.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Law, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 233 ; Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 209.
5. See *ASIAR*, 1904-05, p. 43 ff; 1905-06, pp. 83-84 ; 1906-07, pp. 44ff. (specially p. 63, nos. 6-12) ; 1910-11, pp. 67-71.
6. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 61.

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there was brisk communication between Vethadīpa and the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. Normally, the seal-die should remain at the place of its origin and the sealings should be found elsewhere whereto letters and parcels were dispatched. But, as stated earlier (pp. 11-12), many of the seal-impressions cannot be counted as true sealings and were meant to be sent along with letters to prove the *bona fides* of the person taking the letters rather than for sealing correspondence or parcels, and, as such, have been found at places of their origin. Moreover, these have been found in heaps unmixed with any other type from elsewhere. Besides the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sealings, a colossal image of the dying Buddha excavated at that site[1] and facing north, similar to the *nirvāṇa* statue of Kuśīnārā as described by Hiuen-tsang,[2] the find of a copper-plate conveying that it belonged to the *Parinirvāṇa chaitya*[3] and the richness of the monuments at Kasia—all suggest that the *Mahāparinirvāṇa vihāra* was at Kasia itself and that the site is to be identified with ancient Kuśīnārā.[4]

Makkutali—A locality, unidentified.

Makuṭabandhana—The legends *Makuṭabandhana*[5] and its abbreviated form, *Bandhana*,[6] occur on some Kasia seals. *Makuṭabandhana*, the place where Buddha's body was cremated,[7] was situated in the immediate vicinity of Kuśīnārā—the site of His *parinirvāṇa* and was so called because of its being the site where the Malla chiefs were crowned. Hiuen-tsang noticed a tope marking that spot.[8]

Malligrāmīṇa—A village, unidentified.

Mrakshakalpaka—A locality, unidentified.

Nagara-bhukti—This *bhukti* is also referred to in the Deo Baranark Inscription of Jīvitagupta II[9] and the Nalanda plate of Dharmapāla.[10] It is supposed to have included the districts of Gaya, Patna and Shahabad.[11] From the

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1. *ASR*, XVIII, p. 57.
2. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 32.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 135.
4. For the views that Kasia does not represent Kuśīnārā, see *JRAS*, 1897, p. 914; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 44; cf. also Law, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 97.
5. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 83, no. 2.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 83, no. 8. This form underlies the *Pan-da-na*, of I-tsing (*vide* Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and Malay Archipelago*, p. 38 text and fn. 3).
7. *SBE*, XI, p. 125.
8. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 39.
9. *CII*, III, no. 46, p. 216, line 6.
10. *MASI*, 66, p. 84, text line 5.
11. *EI*, XXIII, p. *v*91, *vide* Law, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 240.

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Nalanda copper-plate of Devapāladeva, we learn that it included the *vishayas* of Rājagṛiha and Gaya.[1]

Palaeographically, the seals belonging to the Magadha *bhukti* (referred to above) and Nagara *bhukti* belong, more or less, to the same period and some territories are known to have been included in both. Either there was some such political exigency which necessitated territorial adjustments or there was a change in the nomenclature of the *bhukti* itself.

Mūlagandhakuṭī—This famous *kuṭī* (hall) was at Saddharmachakra (i.e. Sarnath). Its identification has already been discussed (p. 208).

Nandana—A village, unidentified.

Nalanda—It is situated seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir, district Patna. Literary evidence traces its antiquity at least to the sixth century B. C. and associates it with three prominent religious leaders—the Buddha, Mahāvīra and Gosāla. The excavations carried out so far, however, do not reveal any antiquity that can be assigned to the pre-Gupta phase with any amount of certainty. Fa-hien (399-44 A. D.), too, is reticent about the glory of this place, but Hiuen-tsang (629-644 A. D.) and I-tsing (671-95) have lauded it to the skies.[2] This great centre of religion and learning met its doom at the hands of the ruthless Bakhtyar Khilji.[3]

Pādapāggrāma—A village, perhaps the modern village Paḍpā situated six miles south of Rajgir.[4]

Pilipiṅkā—Perhaps identical with the village of Pilkhi or Pilke *Mauza* near Nalanda.[5]

Pītakeśvara—A Śaiva shrine at Varanasi.

Prāgjyotisha—Parts of Assam.

Purikā—An *agrahāra* village, unidentified.

Rājagṛiha—The *vishaya* of Rājagṛiha was around the city of that name. The latter is identical with Rajgir, Distt. Patna.

Raktamṛittikā—Rangamati in Murshidabad District. The seal refers to a *mahāvihāra* at Raktamṛittikā.

Rudikoṭa[6]—A locality, unidentified.

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1. *MASI*, 66, p. 97, text lines 26-27.
2. See *supra*, p. 263.
3. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 306.
4. *MASI*, 66, p. 41.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 50, no. 107.

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APPENDIX A

Saddharmachakra—Sarnath. The monastery at the site has been referred to as *Saddharmachakra-mahāvihāra.*

Sahajāti—Sahajāti has been identified with Bhita (the findspot of the seal) eight miles south-west of Allahabad. It was an important city in the days of the Buddha.

Sāmāharsa—A district, unidentified.

Samakājika (?)—A district, unidentified.

Śoṇāntarāla—A district, situated between the Son and the Ganga rivers.

Sevathalika—A village, unidentified.

Śrāvasti-bhukti—The *bhukti* included several districts of Uttar Pradesh during the Pratīhāra rule.[1] Its chief city, also of same name and once capital of Kosala kingdom is identified with modern Sahet-Mahet on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts.[2] These two modern districts would have formed part of this *bhukti.*[3] The Madhuban Copper-plate of Harsha suggests that the Azamgarh district also formed a part of this *bhukti.* If the Dighwa-Dubauli copper-plate belongs to its find-spot, then the district of Saran was within this *bhukti.* According to Sankrityayan, Gonda, Bahraich, Basti, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Saran districts formed parts of the Śrāvastī *bhukti.*[4] During Fa-hien's visit the area was sparsely populated and during the time of Hiuen-tsang's visit, it was almost in ruins.[5]

Śrī-vadra—On the basis of the similarity of names and comparative geographical nearness to the place where the seal was found.[6] Barnett suggested that Śrī-vadra might be identical with Shrinagar in Garhwal.[7]

Tīra and Tīra-bhukti—Tīrabhukti is the same as modern Tirhut. *Tīra* refers to the bank of the Ganga and Tīrabhukti indicated the *bhukti* that lay to the north of that river[8] According to Dikshitar, this *bhukti* was roughly of the size of modern Darbhanga division.[9] Sankrityayan, however,

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1. *Vide* Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 209.
2. *ASR*, I, pp. 330-48; *ASIAR*, 1907-08, pp. 38-39.
3. *EI*, I, p. 72 ff.
4. Sankrityayan, *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*, p. 14, fn.
5. Legge, *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 55.
6. The sealing was found while digging the Ganga canal between Hardwar and Kanpur (*JRAS*, 1914, p. 401).
7. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 402. *Vadra* seems to be the same as *padra* which denoted a locality or a village according to lexicons.
8. *IHQ*, XXVI, p. 138.
9. Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, p. 242.

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holds that it included the tracts between the rivers Gandak, Ganga, Kosi and the Himalayas.[1] The legend *Tīrakumārāmāṭyādhikaraṇa[sya]*[2], as pointed out by Bloch, suggests that the original name of northern Bihar was 'Tīra' (and not the compound Tīrabhukti of subsequent times from which Tirhut has been derived).[3]

Udanakūpa—A locality, unidentified.

Udumbaraka—A village, unidentified.

Vaiśālī—Vaiśālī is generally identified with the ruins near Basarh, District Muzaffarpur, Bihar. Some scholars had doubts regarding this identification, but the cumulative evidence summarised below[4] proves the correctness of this identification. The legend *Tīrabhuktau Vaiśālitārā* shows that Vaiśālī was in Tīrabhukti, modern Tirhut. The two groups of ruins at Basarh conform to Hiuen-tsang's description of the ruins of Vaiśālī. The fort, the Aśokan Pillar, the *stūpa* and the tank near this locality may be identified with those mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. The position of Vaiśālī in regard to Pāṭaliputra (Patna), as described by him, also tallies, to a great extent, with that of Basarh.

The city of Vaiśālī was intimately associated with two religious leaders, the Buddha and Mahāvīra. The famous Lichchhavi capital was in ruins and its inhabitants were few in number during the days of the visit of Hiuen-tsang to that city.[5]

Vaiśālīnāmakuṇḍa—Spooner expressed doubts whether *kuṇḍa* in this expression could be taken in the usual sense of the sacred spring.[6] Banerjea opined that the reference may be to *Markaṭahrada*, 'monkey-tank', which, according to Hiuen-tsang, commemorated a miracle in the life of the Buddha.[7] Dikshitar takes '*nāma*' to mean 'famous' and '*kuṇḍa*' as a place and says that "the *Kumārāmātya* under reference was in charge of the well-known place Vaiśālī."[8]

[Vaṇṭāgra]vāṭaka— An *agrahāra*, unidentified.

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1. *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*, p. 15, fn. 1.
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 22.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
4. For details, see *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 82-83.
5. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 100.
6. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 134.
7. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 196.
8. Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, p. 164.

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Vārakamaṇḍalavishaya—The district called *Vārakamaṇḍala* seems to have included parts of the Goalundo sub-division and the Kotalipara region in the Gopalganj sub-division of Faridpur District.[1] The *vishayapati* of Vārakamaṇḍala was under an *uparika,* who was in charge of Suvarṇavīthi.[2]

Vārāṇasī—A Purāṇic explanation of the name Varanasi alludes to its situation between the rivers Varaṇā and Asī.[3] V. S. Agrawala, however, opines that the river Varaṇā was called *Varaṇāsī* in earlier times because of its association with *Varaṇā* trees and *Varāṇasī* was another form of the same, the geographical limits of the city between the two rivers, being appended to it at a later stage.[4]

Varanasi was a centre of trade and industry and was well-connected with other important cities of northern India. It was also a renowned seat of learning and education[5] as well as of religious activities.[6] The sealings mentioning the name Varanasi found at Rajghat indicate that the site (Rajghat) represents the vital part of the old city of Vārāṇasī.

Veraṇāvatāya—An *agrahāra*, unidentified.

Vichchigrāma—Marshall identified it with Bhita.[7] This is highly doubtful, as Bhita is better identified with Sahajāti.[8]

Vidhehapura—A locality, unidentified.

Vishṇudvīpa-vihāra—The find of a seal-die of Vishṇudvīpa *vihāra*[9] at Kasia led Vogel to think that Kasia might represent Veṭhadīpa and not Kuśīnārā. Veṭhadīpa was one of the eight places where a portion of the Buddha's relics were enshrined.[10] As regards the identification of Vishṇudvīpa with Veṭhadīpa, it has been pointed out that, in a Tibetan text dealing with the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, the equivalent of Pāli Veṭhadīpa is given as *Khyb-jugg-ling,* a literal rendering of Sanskrit Vishṇudvīpa.[11] This conclusion, based

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1. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 363 fn. 5.
2. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 26.
3. *Kūrma P.*, (*pūrvavibhāga*), 31, 63.
4. In the preface to Dr. Motichandra's *Kāśī-kā-Itihāsa*, p. 6.
5. See *supra*, Chapt. 'Education & Educational Institutions'; cf. *vidyānāṁ sadanaṁ Kāśi* (*Skanda P.*, *Kāśikhaṇḍa*, 96, 121).
6. See *supra*, Chapt. 'Religion and Iconography'. Cf. *Tirthāni santi bhūyāṁsi Kāśyāmatra pade pade* (*Skanda P.*, *Kāśikhaṇḍa*, 59, 118); also *Tilāntarāpi no Kāśyāṁ bhūmirliṅgaṁ vinā kvachit* (*ibid.*, 10, 103).
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 59, no. 109. Cf. also *Vichchi* (*ibid.*).
8. *Supra*, p. 321, under *Sahajāti*.
9. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 60.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *ASIAR*, 1906-07, p. 60.

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on the doubtful evidence of a single seal and against the evidence of hundreds of *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sealings, is, to say the least, untenable.

If the suggestion of Vishṇudvīpa being identical with Veṭhadīpa of Pali literature be correct, then its probable identification should be with modern Bettiah in the Champaran district of Bihar.[1] Brāhmaṇa Droṇa belonged to Veṭhadīpa and had erected a *stūpa* over the vessel in which the relics of the Buddha had been collected and kept for a time.[2] Vishṇudvīpa, however, might very well have been the name of a monastery at Kuśīnārā itself.

Vishṇupāda—A Vaishṇava shrine at Gaya.[3] A hill of the same name is near Kurukshetra.[4]

Yugandhara[5]—B. C. Law points out that Yugandhara finds a reference in the *Aṣhṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and also in the *Mahābhārata*. He identifies it with the former Jind state.[6]

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1. *Vide PHAI*, p. 193, n.
2. *Buddhavaṁsa*, Chap. XXVIII, p. 68.
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104.
4. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 277, fn. 3.
5. *Vide* Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, p. 101.
6. *Hist. Geog.*, p. 136.

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APPENDIX B

NON-SECTARIAN MOTTOS

We have taken notice of seals and sealings bearing sectarian fomulae or mottos under different religious heads in chapter IV. Thus, under Śaiva seals, we have noted *Kaleśvaraḥ prīyatāṁ, namaḥ Paśupate(ḥ)* (i. e., *Paśupataye*), *namo svāmino-Śrī-Skandarudrasya, namo Haraye*, and under Vaishṇava, *namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya, Harismaraṇa, jitaṁ bhagavatā, jitaṁ bhagavatā Vāsudevena, jitaṁ bhagavato'nantasya Naṁdeśvarī-Varasvāminaḥ*[1], and *jayatyananto bhagavān-Sāmbaḥ*. The Śākta(?) motto *namo Devyai* and the Buddhist motto *ye dharmā hetu, etc.*, have also been referred to. Certain mottos, apparently non-sectarian, have also been discussed by us under religion because of their association with characterstically sectarian devices. We discuss below such seals and sealings which bear apparently non-sectarian mottos that could very well have been used by the followers of different sects.

Vipākapuṇya

A clay sealing from Rajghat in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Hindu University, Varanasi,[2] shows an altar with two *śaṅkhas* on it and bears the legend *Vipākapuṇya* in Gupta characters (pl. XXVIII, 2). The reverse bears mat-impression. The legend seems to convey the same sense as *puṇyavipāka* 'maturing of merits'.

Śānti

Two clay sealings from Rajghat, one in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Hindu University, Varanasi (pl. XXVIII, 4),[3] and another in Bharat Kala Bhavan[4] show the vase-and-foliage motif and legend *Śānti* in Gupta characters. A large clay seal from Pakna Bihar, near Sankisa, bears the same legend in Gupta characters.[5]

Cunningham, while commenting on the Pakna Bihar seal, took its legend to be a personal name.[6] It, however, appears to be a motto. *Śānti* means

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1. This and the following one are rather controversial, see *supra*, pp. 165-66.
2. No. 489.
3. No. 463.
4. No. 6294.
5. Cunningham, *ASR*, XI, p. 37, pl. XII, no. 8.
6. *Ibid.* It may, however, be conceded that *Śānti* as a personal name is not uncommon.

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'peace', 'bliss', 'rest', 'absence from passions', etc.[1] In Buddhist philosophy, *Śānti* is the goal of every pious Buddhist's aspirations. Vedic literature also lays great emphasis on it.[2]

Apramāda

Seals bearing the legend *apramāda* have been found at different sites, such as Kasia,[3] Sarnath,[4] Nalanda,[5] and Mahurzari[6] (near Nagpur). The legend also occurs on stone seals found in Oc-éo in Southern Cambodia[7] and two carnelian seals of unknown provenance now in the British Museum.[8] All these are datable to Gupta period, except those from Kasia which may be dated to *circa* seventh or eighth century A. D.

Apramāda signifies 'thoughtfulness', 'carefulness', 'watchfulness', 'alertness', etc. It is as secular as religious. Much emphasis has been laid on it in ancient literature. It figures prominently in the exhortations given by a teacher to his students at the completion of their studies.[9] It is also a well-known Buddhist motto and occurs frequently in the exhortations of the Buddha to his disciples.[10] It finds a significant place in the Bhāgavata religion as well. The famous Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of *Bhāgavata* Heliodoros, mentions *apramāda* as one of the three immortal steps to heaven.[11] In the *Mahābhārata*, too, it is enumerated as one of the essentials for obtaining bliss.[12]

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1. The *Padma Purāṇa* defines *Śānti* as below :
   Yatkiñchidvastu saṁprāpya svalpaṁ vā bahu
   yā tushṭirjāyate chitte sā śāntirgadyate budhaiḥ.
   as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, *s. v.*, *Śānti*.
2. If sectarian interpretation be sought from the findspot, the one from Rajghat would perhaps be Brahmanical while that from Pakna Bihar, Buddhistic.
3. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 84, nos. 13, 15 ; *ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 63, no. 13, p. 64, no. 15. Sometimes, the legend is combined with the names of private individuals or with pious mottos. These, however, belong to a period later than the one within our perview.
4. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 313, no. F(d) 54.
5. *MASI*, 66, p. 59, no. 17.
6. Mirashi, *JNSI*, III, p. 99.
7. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 18, c ; Coedés, *Artibus Asiae*, X, p. 197.
8. Dikshit, *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 123 ff., at p. 126, nos. 21-22, pl. V, 20-21.
9. *Taittirīya Up.*, I. 11, *Svādhyāyanmāpramadaḥ. . . . Satyānna pramaditavyam. Dharmānna pramaditavyam.*
0. *Dhammapada*, Chap. II.
11. *Vide* Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 89, *Trini amutapadāni ia suanuṭhitāni neyaṁti svagaṁ dama chāga apramāda.*
12. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), V. 43, 14, *Damastyāgo'pramādaścha eteshvamṛitamāhitam* ; cf. also *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, III, 313, *Śauchākrodhāpramādatāḥ.*

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APPENDIX B

Dharma-kartavya

A terracotta seal in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (pl. XXVIII 3a and 3b)[1] and another in the Allahabad Museum (pl. XXVIII, 1a and 1b) bear the legend *Dharma-kartavya* in Brāhmī characters of *circa* third century A. D. Six sealings from Sunet bearing the same legend in a similar script were noticed by Shri J. Agrawal.[2]

While dealing with the Sunet sealings, Shri Agrawal suggested that the sealings were distributed amongst the Yaudheyas as a token of their resolve to fight and defeat the Kushāṇas.[3] The suggestion, though ingenious, does not seem to be convincing. In the first place, the main contention of Agrawal—that Sunet is not known as a place of pilgrimage[4]—stands refuted by the find of sealings bearing the legend *Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇābhyāṁ* (pl. XV, 3 and 5) and several other Vaishṇava and Śaiva sealings[5] discovered at that very site indicating the existence of a temple or temples dedicated to Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. Secondly, we do not have evidence of the use of seals for political propaganda. And even if we accept their use for such a purpose, we should have expected the legend to be *Dharma-yuddha-kartavya* rather than *Dharma-kartavya*.

Dharma should better be taken in the sense of 'duty' or 'religious duty'.[6] *Dharma-kartavya* appears to be an echo of the Upanishadic *dharmaṁ chara* which also formed part of the convocation-address by the teacher to the taught.[7] The observance of *dharma* is fully enjoined and emphasized in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[8] In fact, it is held above everything else in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. It also forms the central theme of Aśokan edicts.

The tablets with this legend seem to have been distributed by some agency with a view to arouse into people the sense of *dharma*.

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1. Indian Museum, All464-NS9151. It shows the legend in relief, but with letters reversed. It seems that the die-cutter forgot to reverse the letters in the die or else, either ink-impressions were given or the impressions on wet clay had sunken letters, which would rather be an unusual feature.
2. *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 71-72.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
4. Shri Agrawal writes : '....Rajghat was a sacred site visited by pilgrims....Sunet had no such sacred traditions' (*ibid.*, fn. 2).
5. *Supra*, Chap. IV.
6. For various definitions of *Dharma*, see Kane, *HDS*, II(1), pp. 3-11.
7. *Taittirīya Up.*, 1.11.1.
8. *Gītā*, 3.35, *Svadharme nidhanaṁ śreyaḥ paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ*.

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Dharmo-rakshati-rakshitaḥ

The above legend in Gupta characters is found on certain Basarh seals[1] and a stone seal from Ahichchhatrā in the Allahabad Museum.[2] Bloch,[3] Marshall[4] and Mookerji[5] have taken it as a personal name. Bloch was aware of the fact that *Dharmo-rakshati-rakshitaḥ* would be a very peculiar name.[6] His faulty translation of the legend as 'Dharma protects a protected person', made him reject the possibility of its being a benedictory formula.[7]

The legend, however, is nothing but a pious motto. It means that *dharma*, when preserved, protects (the preserver). It occurs exactly in this form in the *Manusmṛiti*[8] from which, in all likelihood, it was borrowed.

Dātavyaṁ bhogavyaṁ

Two terracotta seals from Sunet, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,[9] contain, in reversed letters of Gupta period, the legend *Dātavyaṁ bhoga(ta?)vyaṁ*, i. e., '(things) should be given (and also) enjoyed'[10] (pl. XXVIII, 5[11]). Some stone seals found in Oc-éo in Southern Cambodia contain legends *Dātavyaṁ* and *Bhaktavyaṁ*[12] (perhaps a mistake for *bhoktavyaṁ*) in characters of the Gupta period. The latter were most probably brought from India.

The expression *dātavyaṁ bhogavyaṁ* reminds us of the expression *apavyayatā apabhāṇḍatā sādhu* ('less expenditure and less hoarding is good') of Aśokan inscriptions,[13] and the Upanishadic *tyaktena bhuñjīttha* ('enjoy in renunciation').[14] It is less likely that the legend was meant for *dātavyaṁ bho gavyaṁ* ('O ! *gavya* should be given').

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1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 104-05 and 115, no. 55, pl. XLI, 22.
2. Recently published by Shri Tripathi (*JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 188).
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 105.
4. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 48.
5. *LGAI*, p. 113.
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 104-05.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
8. VIII. 15, *Dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakshati rakshitaḥ*. The sealing would attest the popularity of the *Manusmṛiti* in the Gupta period.
9. Indian Museum, nos. All438-NS9124 and All462-NS9130.
10. Cf. the Hindi saying (often quoted by the beggars)—*diyā liyā saba saṅga chalegā, khāyā piyā saba aṅga lagegā* (whatever is given would accompany [in the next world], and whatever is eaten would add to the body').
11. Indian Museum, no. All463-NS9131.
12. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 18, B ; Coedés, *Artibus Asiae*, X, p. 196.
13. R. E. III (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 18-19, at p. 19).
14. *Iśāvāsya Up.*, opening verse.

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APPENDIX B

Siddhirastu

A terracotta seal from Sunet in the Indian Museum, Calcutta[1] bears the legend *Siddhirast(u)*, 'let there be success', in reversed characters of the Gupta period (pl. XXVIII, 7). A terracotta sealing from Rajghat, now in the Allahabad Museum,[2] has the *śrīvatsa* symbol and the legend *Siddhiḥ*,[3] 'success'. Both these are popular *maṅgalas*. *Siddhaṁ*[4] occurs at the beginning while *siddhirastu*[5] at the end of certain inscriptions. Students in ancient India started education by learning the word *siddhaṁ* first.[6]

Vṛiddhirastu

Closely allied to the one discussed above is the motto *Vṛiddhirastu*, 'let there be prosperity', which occurs in *circa* second or third century A. D. characters on a flat rectangular carnelian seal from Bhita in the Allahabad Museum (XXVIII, 6)[7] and on a terracotta sealing in the Lucknow Museum, in similar characters.[8]

Om Śrī

A seal-die in the Allahabad Museum[9] with a hole for suspension bears the legend *Om Śrī*. The letter *Śrī* has been carved, by mistake, as it should be in the impression. Below occurs a *chakra*. The syllable *Om* is a symbol of the Supreme Being[10] and was looked upon as sacred from very early times. Manu prescribes its repetition at the beginning and end of the Vedic studies.[11]

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1. No. All463-NS9131.
2. Allahabad Museum, no. 186.
3. Cf. the two sealings from Kasia belonging to *c.* 1000 A. D. and bearing the legends *Abhiprāyasiddhiḥ* and *Abiddhāsiddhiḥ* respectively (*ASIAR*, 1906-07, pp. 63, 64, 65 ; *ibid.*, 1905-06, p. 84).
4. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 277, 308. Sometimes *Siddhaṁ* in Gupta epigraphs is represented by a crescent-like curved stroke opening towards the left (*CII*, III, no. 11 (pl. VIA), and no. 20 (pl. XII B). Fleet, however, took the symbol as standing for *Om* (*ibid.*, no. 11, p. 46; no. 20, p. 92).
5. *CII*, III, no. 17, p. 76 ; *ibid.*, no. 18, p. 84.
6. Cf. the *Divyāvadāna* story where a boy had such a slippery memory that he could not remember even the two syllables (*Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 486).
7. No. 96. The legend reads *Vṛiddhirasta*, obviously the *ukāra* sign is missing. Cf. also *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 187-88.
8. *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, p. 90, no. 91.
9. No. 147.
10. *Taittirīya Br.*, II.11 ; *Taittirīya Up.*, I. 8.
11. *Manu.*, II.74.

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The three letters *a*, *u* and *m* are taken symbolical variously of three Vedas, three worlds, three fires, etc.[1]

Satyaṁ jayati nānṛita

A copper seal of the Gupta period in a private collection at Bombay and published by Dr. P. L. Gupta[2] bears the legend *Satyaṁ jayati nānṛita*, 'truth prevails, not falsehood'. Obviously, the legend is slightly corrupt; the last word should be *nānṛitaṁ*. The motto, which became quite popular in subsequent times,[3] occurs in the *Muṇḍakopanishad*[4] and is an echo of the early Āryan "belief that the world-order is essentially righteous...."[5] From 'divine order', *ṛita* came to denote 'eternal truth'.

Jaya

The legend occurs on some seals from Oc-éo,[6] in all probability of Indian origin, and means 'victory'. This is an auspicious formula more particularly pronounced in the case of the Kshatriyas, especially when they went to a battle.

Jitaṁ manoratha

A terracotta seal-die from Bhita, datable to the fourth or the fifth century A. D., bears a star and a two-line legend (i)*Jitaṁ* (ii)*manoratha*[7] (pl. XVIII, 8). *Jitaṁ*, 'victory', is a benedictory formula. *Manoratha* was taken by Marshall to be a personal name.[8] But it may also mean an 'objective'. It is not unlikely that impressions of this die in clay were given by the priest to the devotees to impress upon them that by the pious act of pilgrimage and charity they would achieve their objectives.[9]

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1. Kane, *HDS*, II(i), p. 302. According to Bayley, " '*Aum*' was used as a pass word in the Egyptian mysteries" and "regarded among Mohammedans as omnific syllable" whose efficacy cured physical deformities and snake-bites (*Lost Language of Symbolism*, p. 72). The device of a *chakra* on the seal, however, suggests Vaishṇava affiliations.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, 1962, p. 182, pl. X, 4, 5 and 5a.
3. This has also been adopted as motto on the crest of the Indian Republic.
4. 3.1.6. *Satyameva Jayati nānṛitam.* In one text it is *jayate* instead of *jayati*.
5. Griswold, *Religion of the Ṛigveda*, p. 133; cf. also *PHAI*, p. 243.
6. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 18, c.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 48, pl. XVII, no. 9.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Cf. the popular benediction:
   Mantrārthāḥ saphalā santu
   pūrṇā santu manorathāḥ,
   śatrūṇāṁ buddhināśo hi
   mitrāṇāmudayastava.

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Dhṛiti and Śuchi

Seals bearing legends *Dhṛiti*[1] and *Śuchi*[2] respectively have been unearthed at Rajghat. The latter has been taken to be the same as *śaucha* and both legends have been considered as mottos. The *Manusmṛiti* extols these as two of the ten characteristics of *dharma*.[3]

Satya and Dama

The legend *Satasya* on a Mathura sealing and *Damasya* on another from Jhusi have, likewise, been taken as mottos.[4] *Satya* and *dama*, no doubt, find mention among the ten *lakshaṇas* of *dharma*.[5] The legends are in the sixth case-endings but the mottos on seals, when unassociated with any other expression like *namaḥ* or *jaya*, are generally in the first declination (*prathamā*) and, as such, the possibility of the aforesaid sealings belonging to persons bearing names *Satya* and *Dama* cannot be ruled out. The legend *Satya-vaktavyaṁ* ('speak the truth') on some Sunet seals[6] is, however, a motto.

Vāgdharma

The legend *Vāgagdhamasya* occurring on a copper seal has been amended as *vāgdharmasya* and counted as a motto[7] which is in keeping with Manu's definition of *vāgdharma* consisting of speaking the truth, which is not harsh to others and not to tell a lie which is dear to others.[8] But, as in the case of the two legends referred under the preceding heading, the sixth case-ending creates some problem.

Dayā and Dānam

We may also refer to the glyptic evidence of mottos *dayā* and *dānaṁ* ('mercy' and 'charity') from Oc-éo, Southern Cambodia.[9] *Dānaṁ* is the same as *dātavyaṁ* of the motto discussed above. *Dayā* is, no doubt, an important virtue and is prescribed as one of the constituents of the *dharma* by Aśoka[10].

Yashṭavyam

A few seals, in all probability of Indian origin, discovered in Oc-éo,

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1. Allahabad Museum, no. R/160, *vide JNSI*, XXVII, p. 29.
2. Allahabad Museum, no. R/176, *vide JNSI*, XXVII, p. 29.
3. *Manu.*, VI. 92,
   Dhṛitiḥ kshamā damo'steyaṁ śauchamindriyanigrahaḥ,
   dhīrvidyā satyamakrodho daśakaṁ dharmalakshaṇam.
4. *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 29.
5. *Manu.*, as quoted in fn. 3, above.
6. *Sudhāraka* (Hindi Magazine), 10th August, 1971, p. 69.
7. *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 30.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Coedès, *Artibus Asiae*, pp. 196, 197, pl. D1 ; Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 18.
10. Cf. also Pillar Edict II of Aśoka, where *dayā*, *dāna*, *satya* and *śaucha* have been enumerated as constituents of *dharma* (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 54).

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Southern Cambodia, bear the legend *Ɣashṭavyaṁ*,[1] 'sacrifice should be performed'. The reference may be to the *pañcha-yajñas* that a householder was enjoined to perform daily rather than to the elaborate and specialized Vedic *yajñas*.

While the religious motto-seals (Chap. IV) recount the victory of the Lord, offer salutations to Him, speak of the principles pronounced by Him, exhort people to remember Him and invoke His favour and grace and thus reflect the typical religious attitude of the Indian mind, the secular or non-sectarian ones exhort people to perform their duties, to be alert, to acquire peace and speak the truth. The medium of the glyptics proved to be the cheapest and handiest handmaiden for popularising and propagating religious and secular mottos when such modern facilities of newspapers and radios were unheard of. Of great interest is the fact that many of these mottos or formulae are either borrowed from well-known texts or based on them.

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1. Coedès, *Artibus Asiae*, X, p. 197 ; Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 18, B.

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APPENDIX C

COIN-DEVICES ON SEALS

Whether the seals followed the same trends in art and iconography as the coins is an interesting study. Coins were issued by kings, republican tribes and rarely by guilds whereas seals belonged to all classes of peoples and institutions. Similar symbols were used in ancient times in various forms of art, but the resemblance between seals and coins, in so far as their shape, size and design are concerned, is very close. And this is more particularly discernible from some select specimens given below.

Early Indian coin-devices

We may take up the symbols and motifs for parallels. The hollow cross (pl. XXXIV, 5) occurs on several ancient Indian coins, to wit, the uninscribed cast[1] and tribal[2] coins from Taxila. The fish-standard within a railing (pl. XXXII, 4) occurs on Taxila coins.[3] The *svastika*, which occurs on a large number of seals in association with other religious and auspicious symbols (pl. II, 1; IV 1, 3) and also alone (pl. XXXIV, 6), is a common device on ancient coins.[4] Quite interesting is the device of *svastika* with taurines at its four ends (pl. XXXIV, 7). This is also met with in an exactly similar form on some of the ancient coins.[5] The 'Ujjain symbol' is a very popular device on ancient Indian coins.[6] Glyptics also provide close parallels to this numismatic device (pl. XXXIV, 1-3).

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1. *CCAI*, pp. 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, pl. XI, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 229-31, pl. XXXIII, nos. 10-14.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 229, pl. XXXIV, 2 (obv.); it occurs in association with human head and moon-on-hill symbol.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 86, 87, 88, 89 ff., pl. XI, 3, 6 etc. (uninscribed cast); *ibid.*, pp. 159-61 (Kuṇinda); p. 187 (Mathura Kshatrapa); p. 248, 249, pl. XXXVIII, 10, 15 (Tribal, from Ujjayinī); pp. 130-32, pl. XVI, 10 (Ayodhya); p. 146 (Kāḍa); p. 158, pl. XVI (Kulūta); p. 159 (Kuṇinda); pp. 216 ff., pl. XXXV, 1 (Taxila); pp. 273-74 (Yaudheya), etc.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 121, pl. XIV, 12 (Ārjunāyana); *ibid.*, pp. 255-56, pl. XIX, 5, 6, 8, 9 (Ujjayinī coins).
6. *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. XCI, XCIII; *ibid.*, pp. 243-44, 247, 249, 252, 257, 259, 260, 262; pls. XXXVI, 10-11, etc., XXXVIII, 20, 25 (Ujjayinī coins); pp. 130-34, pl. XVI, 14 (Ayodhya); pp. 140, 144 (Eran); pp. 149-50, pl. XX, 1 (uninscribed cast coins from Kauśāmbī), etc.

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The *nandipada* symbol occurs on several seals (pls. II, 1; V, 5; XXXII, 1, 10) and the coins of several rulers of ancient India.[1] *Yūpa* in railing was adopted as a device by rulers of certain dynasties. We find it occurring on the seals of Harisheṇa (pl. IV, 3), Navva (pl. IV, 6), etc., associated with other symbols and, on a Rajghat sealing (pl. XXXIV, 4), alone. This device also has its parallels on coins.[2]

Another device on seals with a definite numismatic parallel[3] is that of the 'hill symbol' of three or more arches. On one sealing (pl. XXXIV, 10), we find it with a crescent as its crest and also in association with a taurine and another symbol while on another we find it with a curved line below (pl. XXXII, 5). The 'pyramid of balls', which occurs on certain sealings from Bhita (pl. III, 7; XIV, 3, 5), also belongs to this category, and is to be seen on certain coins.[4] This device suggests the influence of Sātavāhana coinage.[5] Pl. XXXIV, 8, represents a sun, a taurine and a *jayadhvaja*. All these symbols occur frequently on our ancient coins.[6] Likewise, the device taurine within a 'U' shaped design (pl. XXXIV, 9) is an interesting coin-device parallel.[7] The tree within railing (pl. XXXIV, 10b) and the tree in a container (pl. XXXII, 3), are two of the few most commonly found devices on coins.[8] We have noticed only one sealing with the device of a steelyard (pl. XXXIV, 11). A similar device is to be met with on certain *Negama* coins from Taxila[9] and also on certain Ayodhya ones.[10]

A signet ring noticed by Rapson[11] has the legend *Naṁdivaḍhasa* and the device of a lion, a staff surmounted by a fish within a railing, a *svastika*, a

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1. *CCAI*, p. 159, pl. XII, no. 2 (Kuṇinda); pl. XVII, no. 17. (Ayodhya). More or less a similar symbol occurs on the coins of Azes (*CCPM*, I, pl. XII, nos. 252 and 317) and Wima Kadphises (*ibid.*, no. 31, pl. XVII).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68, pl. XXXIX, 11, 12, etc. (Yaudheya).
3. *CCAI*, pp 86-94, 98, etc., pl. XI, 7, 8, 9, 19-25; pl. XII, 3-10 (uninscribed cast); *ibid.*, pp. 216-34, pl. XXXII, 1-16 (Tribal coins from Taxila).
4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII, 5-10 (Taxila); pl. XXIII, 1-16 (Kuṇinda).
5. *CCAWKTB*, pls. I, 14-15, II, 17-29.
6. For sun, see *CCAI*, p. 266, pl. XXXIX, 10; for taurine, *ibid.*, p. 232, pl. XXXIV, 10, pl. XLIV, 17; for *jayadhvaja*, *ibid.*, pp. 85-88, pl. XI, 8-9.
7. *CCAI*, p. 143, pl. XVIII, 9.
8. Cf. *CCAI*, pp. 87-91, pl. XI, 7, 8, etc.
9. *CCAI*, pp. 214-15, pl. XXXI, 2, 3, 4.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 129, nos. 3-5, pl. XVI, 8-10.
11. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 103 and plate.

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taurine and another symbol—perhaps the Kharoshṭhī 'spa'. These symbols, as already noticed earlier, occur on ancient Indian coins. Excavations at Maheshwar have yielded a glass seal with the device of an elephant with the trunk raised and mouth open, a *svastika* with curved arms, a symbol formed by taurines and a very peculiar symbol.[1] Dr. Sankalia is of the opinion that the impression was probably made by some hitherto unknown variety of cast-coins as these symbols, so commonly found on the punch-marked coins, are not met with together as a group.[2] Hoernle reports certain unmistakable Yaudheya coin-devices on clay seals.[3]

The above-mentioned specimens can be classed in two categories: (1) those that are partly similar, and (2) the more or less identical ones.

What could be the use of these?[4] The Indo-Greek coin-devices on clay-lumps described below are suggestive of trade contacts between India and the West. The Gupta coin-devices also noticed below[5] might have been tokens issued by the Imperial Guptas to acquaint people with their prowess as well as their artistic taste and talents like playing on the *vīṇā*. Early indigenous coin-devices on clay-lumps do not portray royal figures and as such could not have served the purpose suggested in the case of the Imperial Gupta devices. Likely enough, those that are exact parallels of coins could have been issued by minting authorities providing *bona fides* of the person possessing them, or else were results of mint-masters' testing of the coin-dies on clay-lumps which somehow escaped destruction.[6] We are, however, inclined to include another possibility. D. R. Bhandarkar[7], long back, showed that, according to the commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka* by Buddhaghosha (5th century A. D.), the coins could be of copper, iron, *sāra* wood, the outside of bamboo or palmyra

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1. *JNSI*, XV, p. 201, pl. VII, no. 1. It has been described as 'an inverted triangle with two lines on the right resting on a horizontal line standing on a perpendicular one' (*ibid.*).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-03.
3. *JASB*, 1884, p. 138. He is of the opinion that perhaps 'these fictitious seals were made by poor people who in this way wished to escape payment of a, for them probably, considerable fee chargeable by the temple authorities for the making of a properly stamped votive tablet' (*ibid.*). This, however, does not seem to have been the case.
4. We have also discussed this problem in our paper 'Coin Devices on Clay Lumps' in *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (ed. by D. C. Sircar), pp. 127-30 and the whole paragraph is based on it.
5. *Infra*, pp. 337ff.
6. Incidently, their find may also suggest the possibility of the existence of mint in the neighbourhood of the findspot.
7. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 140-41.

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lac or gum bearing *rūpas* and also of skin, fruits and seeds with or without *rūpa* marks. The testimony of the poet-saint Jñānadeva attests to the prevalence of leather money as late as the thirteenth century A. D.[1] Rhys Davids took a lacquer model in the collection of Pearse as a possible example of non-metallic type of coins mentioned by Buddhaghosha.[2] Most of the non-metallic substances being perishable, their coins would have been lost beyond recovery. But if the coins were of such material as leather, wood or gum, as stated by Buddhaghosha, they could very well have been fashioned out of clay, a substance which, in some respects, is more suited for this purpose than some other material mentioned by that scholar. In our opinion, if any existing non-metallic substance bearing *rūpa*-marks has any claim of being taken as coins, these are also equally entitled to be classed in the same category.[3]

Indo-Greek coin-devices[4]

Several seal-impressions with Hellenistic coin-devices are of unique interest.[5] Pl. XXXV, 6, shows Apollo standing to the right and holding a bow from the centre in the right hand A similar figure of this deity on coins[6] is shown facing and holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right. Another numismatic parallel on Rajghat sealings is to be seen in the exquisite representation of Herakles standing to the left, carrying a club in his right hand and a lion's skin in the left (pl. XXXV, 14). It bears resemblance with the somewhat crudely depicted figures of Herakles on the coins of Kujula Kadphises.

Pl. XXXV, 13, shows a winged Nike holding a wreath with fillet and has something protruding to the front and back from her waist. The latter

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1. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 146-47.
2. See *ibid.*, pp. 145-46.
3. Shri Jai Prakash Singh kindly informs me that reference to clay as a medium of exchange in India is to be met with in Pramathanath Banerjea's book, *A study of Indian Economics*, 2nd ed., London, 1915, pp. 167-68, and that clay money was prevalent in China, for which the author refers to Terrien de Lacouperie's *Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the 7th Century B. C. to A. D. 621, including the Series in the British Museum*, London, 1892, p. 424.
4. Many of these together with some Gupta coin-devices have been noticed by Sri Krishna Deva in *JNSI*, III, pp. 73-77, pl. V. All the specimens described below, unless otherwise specified, come from Rajghat.
5. For their significance, see *supra*, pp. 233-36.
6. *CGSKBI*, pl. IX, nos. 10-12 and pl. XI, 3 ; *CCPM*, I, pl. IV, no. 307 (holding bow and arrow).

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feature is absent on the coins[1], while the palm-leaf, shown on the coins, is absent here. Sealings of this type have been found at Rajghat in a large number and are housed in different Museums of Northern India. A clay sealing from Sirkap[2] also shows the figure of Nike but, unlike the Rajghat ones, does not show projections from the waist and is nearer to the depiction on coins. Nos. 2 and 8 of pl. XXXV show the figure of Pallas, helmeted, facing left and carrying a shield in her left hand. Her right hand is uplifted and perhaps holds a spear. It resembles the figure of Pallas on the coins.[3] The figure of Apollo standing and carrying bow in one hand and arrow in the other occurs on some Rajghat sealings and also on some Indo-Greek coins.[4] Nos. 1 and 11 on Pl. XXXV depict heads with classical features bearing close affinity with those on the Indo-Greek coins[5] while nos. 4, 5 and 9 on the same plate represent heads which are similar to those on the Roman coins. These all are devoid of string-marks on their backs. Some of them bear holes ; they might have either been appended to letters or used as ornaments. One of these heads is extremely artistic and can be favourably compared with some of the best representations of a similar type on coins and seals. In passing, we may also allude to similar imitation of Satrapal coin-heads on the glyptics (pl. XXXV, 12).

Gupta coin-devices

The inventive genius of the illustrious Guptas devised methods to acquaint people with their personal talents and qualities as well as their achievements in the political, religious and artistic spheres. They are portrayed on coins in various moods and acts, such as playing on lyre, riding a horse or an elephant, slaying a tiger, lion or rhinoceros. In the same mood, it appears, they popularised coin-devices on clay tablets,[6] which were, generally speaking, tokens used as 'marks of official authentication, passports or identity cards', since they are devoid of string-marks on their backs.[7]

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1. *CGSKBI*, pl. XI, nos. 4, 5, 13, etc.
2. *Taxila*, II, p. 682, no. 42 ; *ibid.*, III, pl. 207, no. 29.
3. *CGSKBI*, pl. XXI, nos. 9 and 11.
4. For Rajghat Sealings, see *JNSI*, III, pp. 76-77, pl. V, 15, and for coins, see *CGSKBI*, pl. IX, 10-12.
5. *CGSKBI*, pl. V, 10 ; *CCPM*, I, nos. 27 and 28. A royal bust more or less similar to no. 11 has been illustrated by Shri K. Deva in *JNSI*, III, pl. V, 11.
6. Some such tablets bear devices which are completely identical with those on coins in shape and size, seem to be pressed out of coin moulds. The use of these could hardly have been allowed to private individuals (*JNSI*, III, p. 76).
7. *JNSI*, III, p. 76.

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Pl. XXXVI, 5[1], shows a person seated to the left, playing on a bow-shaped *vīṇā* resting on his knees. The figure emulates the Lyrist type coins of Samudragupta[2] and Kumāragupta I.[3] On the Lyrist type of Samudragupta, the figure is shown seated cross-legged and on those of Kumāragupta the right leg is folded on the couch while the left is over the right one and hangs down. The figure on the clay-impression sits in *bhadrāsana* and there is an additional device of an elephant standing to the left. This latter feature is absent on the coins. We suggest that the intention was to show that even an elephant could be enchanted by the musical notes of the lyre. We are reminded of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī who, we are told, could enchant wild elephants by the music of his *vīṇā*.

A Sunet sealing (pl. XXXVI, 10) shows, on the obverse, a device of Samudragupta's *Aśvamedha* type of coins. Penons of cloth flutter from the top of the *yūpa* in front of the uncaparisoned horse and the *chashāla* or wooden ring with which the *yūpa* was adorned near its end has also been shown.[4] It bears the legend *Parākramaḥ*, which is an abbreviated form of *Aśvamedha-parākramaḥ* occurring on the reverse of the *Aśvamedha* type of his coins.[5] The Lucknow Museum sealing no. 49. 190 (pl. XXXVI, 2) is an exact copy of the obverse of the Archer type of Chandragupta II. The legend *Chandra* below the left arm is quite clear.[6]

There are five triangular lumps from Jhusi in the Allahabad Museum (nos. 286, 304, 399-401),[7] which are impressed on two sides. On one side is depicted an archer shooting with a bow and traces of a legend; on the other are a tree and a vase with foliage. The third or lower side, in some cases, bears string-marks. The depiction of the figure and the posture is similar to what we find on the Lion-slayer type of coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. The device on a Rajghat sealing in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (pl. XXXVI, 3) showing the figure standing in *pratyālīḍhāsana* resembles more closely the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.[8] The Lucknow Museum no. 49. 198

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1. The same as *JNSI*, III, p. 73, pl. V, 1.
2. *CGE*, pl. III, nos. 15-17. Epigraphic evidence bears testimony to Samudragupta's skill in playing on the *vīṇā* (*CII*, III, no. 1, line 27, *niśita-vidagdha-mati-gāndharva-lalitair-vṛiḍita-tridaśapati-guru-Tumburu-Nāradādeḥ*).
3. *CGE*, pl. XIV, 5; *CGGCBH*, pl. XXXI, nos. 4 and 5.
4. On the coins (*CGE*, pl. III, 6-12; *CGGCBH*, pl. IV), the *yūpa* is shown on pedestal and the penons fly over the horse. These features are lacking on our specimen.
5. *CGE*, pp. 67-69.
6. Its close resemblance is to be found in *CGGCBH*, pl. X, no. 14.
7. One of them has been illustrated in the *Lalit Kalā*, no. 9, pl. VI, 12.
8. Cf. *CGE*, pl. VI, no. 11; cf. also *JNSI*, III, p. 74 and pl. V, 4.

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(pl. XXXVI, 6,11) is similar to the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.[1] Allahabad Museum no. R. 26 (pl. XXXVI, 8), likewise, shows a man slaying a lion and probably belongs to the above type of Chandragupta II. Pl. XXXVI, 1 depicts Lakshmī seated, facing, on lotus holding fillet (?) in her outstretched right hand and lotus with stalk in left. There seem to be faint traces of letters on the right margin. The device is met with on the reverse of several Gupta gold coins.[2] Shri K. Deva has referred to a token from Rajghat bearing four impressions, one of which shows the figure of Lakshmī seated, similar to the one referred to above.[3] With the help of the presence of a few letters, Shri Deva ascribed the token to Kumāragupta I.[4] Pl. XXXVI, 4 shows Durgā seated on a lion, couchant to left. This closely resembles the reverse of Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.[5] Shri Deva[6] refers to a similar token on which the goddess is seated on a lion, couchant to right and traces of the legend (*Śrī-Ma*)*hendra*(*siṅha*) occur on its right margin. The legend leaves no doubt regarding its attribution; the device is similar to the reverse design of the Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I.[7] Pl. XXXVI, 7 shows a bust wearing a crest and large earrings. The device is quite similar to the one on a copper coin illustrated by Altekar and plausibly attributed to Chandragupta II.[8] The figure of Garuḍa on a Rajghat seal (pl. XIX, 9) resembles with the Garuḍa device on some copper coins of Chandragupta II.[9]

One of the impressions on a token from Rajghat,[10] showing a figure standing left three-quarter length with left hand on waist (*kaṭyavalambita* pose) and right hand outstretched (possibly in the act of casting incense on the altar)[11] seems to be an imitation of the crude busts and half length portraits on Chandragupta II's copper coins. Still another impression on a token from the same site[12] representing a crude bust seems to imitate busts of

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1. *CGGCBH*, pl. XVI, 12-13.
2. *CGE*, pl. IV, 15; pl. XIV, 16.
3. *JNSI*, III, pp. 73-74, pl. V, 2.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Cf. *CGE*, pl. VI, 15.
6. *JNSI*, III, p. 74, pl. V, 5.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *CGE*, p. 349.
9. *CCGD*, pl. XI, 4-12; *JNSI*, III, 75, pl. V, 10.
10. *JNSI*, III, p. 74, pl. V, 6.
11. Cf. *CCGD*, pl. XI, 8; *JNSI*, III, p. 74 fn.
12. *JNSI*, III, p. 74, pl. V, no. 7.

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Chandragupta II as met with on copper coins.[1] On the other side of this piece is the figure of a fan-tailed peacock[2] similar to those on the Central Indian silver coins of Kumāragupta I and some of his successors.[3] A single token from this very site shows fire-altar.[4] The device resembles the one on the coins of Skandagupta meant for circulation in Western India.

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1. *CCGD*, pl. XI, 12-19.
2. *JNSI*, III, pp. 74-75; pl. V, 8.
3. *CCGD*, pl. XVIII, 1-15 ; pl. XXI, 13-22 ; pl. XXIV, 13-14.
4. *JNSI*, III, p. 75, pl. V, 9.

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APPENDIX D

SEALS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

The use of seals in ancient India might not have been as common as in ancient Egypt[1] and Babylonia,[2] yet the various types of seals found at different sites and noticed above clearly show that it was not uncommon. Ancient Indian literature is also fully cognizant of their widespread use and it would be worthwhile appraising the light it throws regarding their shape and size, material and purpose, legends and motifs, methods of application and technique of manufacture, issuing authorities and their recipients.

It is a moot point whether the signet-rings referred to in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were used for sealing purposes as well. The whole plot of the former hinges upon the recognition of Śakuntalā by Dushyanta as his wife, after he had seen the ring given to her earlier with his name on it as proof of his affectionate relationship. The name, Dushyanta, we think, was written on it probably in positive letters, for we are told that Priyaṁvadā and Anusūyā had read the name instantly the moment they caught a glimpse of the ring.[3]

Similar would have been the ring with Rāma's name which Hanumant carried along with him to Laṅkā. It was meant to convince Sītā that the carrier in reality was an agent of Rāma.[4] Introudcing himself to Sītā as a

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1. In the heydays of ancient Egypt "every scribe and merchant had his seal of silver or gold, every man had a ring"..(Will Durant, *Story of Civilizatian*, Part I, *Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. 169-70).
2. *Ibid*, p. 222, "Men carried on their girdles the prettily designed seals with which they attested their letters and documents". According to Herodotus, everybody carried a signet-ring in Babylonia (Wheeler, T. H., *Life and Travels of Herodotus*, p. 281).
3. *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, edited by Gajendragadkar, 6th edition, Act I, p. 26 (*ubhe nāmamudrākṣharāṇyanuvāchya parasparamavalokayataḥ*). We do not agree with Marshall who describes the ring of Dushyanta as a seal and compares it with the golden seal of king Harsha used for marking letters and documents (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 45).
4. 5.36.2 :
   vānaro'haṁ mahābhāge dūto Rāmasya dhīmataḥ,
   Rāmanāmāṅkitaṁ chedaṁ paśya devyaṅguliyakam.

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messenger from Rāma, Hanumant requested her to see the ring marked with the name of Rāma.

The exact nature of the *sarpamudrā* referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*[1] of Kālidāsa is not clear. It was supposed to have the efficacy of curing the snake-bite and might have had the snake as device marked on it.[2]

Interesting stories regarding the use of signet-rings and similar tokens of identification are found in the *Jātakas*. A *Jātaka*[3] tells us that king Mahākaliṅga became angry with his brother, Chulla Kaliṅga, when told by soothsayers that the latter's son, and not his own, would rule after him. Chulla Kaliṅga thereupon retired to a forest but not before he had given his sword and the ring to a courtier, telling him that by those tokens he would recognise his son and make him king. The story goes that his son was installed as king when the latter showed those objects as marks of his identity. Similarly, according to another,[4] king Brahmadatta of Kāśī, while on a pleasure tour, became intimate with a certain woman. She became pregnant. The king gave her a signet-ring with the instructions that if she gave birth to a girl, the ring should be spent on her, but if a boy were born then he, together with the ring, should be brought to him. A male child was born and taken to the king, who, however, denied both the child and the ring as his own and accepted the former as his son only when a miracle took place. Incidentally, this also shows that people, at times, doubted the genuineness of their own signet-rings.

Signet-rings, according to the general prevailing practice, were also used for sealing purposes. A *Jātaka*[5] relates the story of a king tying up a letter and a meatpiece in a white cloth and sealing it with his royal seal before dispatching it. Cases of alleged and successful attempts at forgeries are also met with. According to *Kaṭāhaka Jātaka*[6], the slave Kaṭāhaka forged a letter in the name of his master claiming thereby to be the son of the latter and that the merchant (to whom the letter was addressed) was to marry his daughter to him. He had sealed the letter with his master's private seal. The sealed letter enabled him to get married with the daughter of that merchant.

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1. *Mālavikāgnimitram* (ed. by T. Jha), p 173, *udaka kumbhavidhānena sarpa-mudritaṁ kimapi kalpayitavyam tadānvishyatāmiti.*
2. *Idaṁ sarpamudritamaṅgulīyakam* (*ibid.*).
3. *Jātaka* no. 479 (*Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka*).
4. *Jātaka* no. 7 (*Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka*).
5. *Jātaka* no. 214 (*Puṇṇa-nadī Jātaka*).
6. *Jātaka* no. 125.

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APPENDIX D

A signet-ring could be used for security as well. A *Jātaka* story[1] refers to the purchase of the entire cargo on a ship on credit by depositing a signet-ring as security.

Another *Jātaka* story[2] testifies that seals were also applied to wet clay laid over fastenings on the mouths of pots containing riches and valuable materials. It was a sort of taboo intended to create and instil a feeling of foreboding and fear in the mind of one attempting to tamper with the contents and the intact seals would be proofs of the goods not being tampered.

Seals were often used for authenticating official documents and correspondence, as attested to by the *Arthaśāstra*. According to it, the hunters were to send news about the movement of enemy forces and wild tribes through domesticated and trained pigeons of the royal household carrying passes.[3]

Seals were also used for sealing merchandise. According to Kauṭilya, a superintendent, with four or five assessors, enquired from merchants whether a seal had been stamped on their goods.[4] The fine for unsealed goods was twice the original dues;[5] that for forged seals was eight times as much;[6] and if the seals were broken or effaced, the merchant was sent to the lock-up.[7] A fine of one and a quarter *paṇa* per load was realised for changing or tampering with official seals.[8] Those intending to smuggle with one pass another merchandise or put unsealed merchandise with sealed one after breaking open the bag, forfeited the smuggled goods and paid fines of equal value.[9]

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1. *Jātaka* no. 4 (*Chullaka-Seṭṭhi Jātaka*).
2. *Jātaka* no. 40 (*Khadiraṅgāra Jātaka*). It refers to eighteen crores buried by Anāthapiṇḍika in the river bank. "When the bank was swept away by a storm;...down rolled the brazen pots, with fastenings and seals unbroken, to the bottom of the ocean" (Cowell, *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Book I, p. 100). Cf. also *Arthaśāstra*, *prakaraṇa* 160-61, where also sealed pots containing money have been referred to (*sahiraṇyabhijñāna mudrāṇi hiranyabhājanāni*).
3. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 34, *Amitrāṭavisañchāraṁ cha rājño gṛihakapotairmudrāyuktairhārayeyuḥ.*
4. *Ibid.*, II. 21, *kvachābhijñāna mudrā vā kṛitā.*
5. *Ibid.*, *amudrāṇāmatyayo deyadviguṇaḥ.*
6. *Ibid.*, *kūṭamudrāṇāṁ śulkāshṭaguṇo daṇḍaḥ.*
7. *Ibid.*, *bhinnamudrāṇāmatyayo ghaṭikāsthāne sthānam.*
8. *Ibid.*, *rājamudrāparivartane....sapādapaṇikaṁ vahanaṁ dāpayet.* It is rather strange that for a crime of such a serious nature a light punishment has been prescribed, for, as pointed out above, merchants who forged seals, had to pay eight times the normal customs duty.
9. *Ibid.*

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The officer-in-charge of boundaries (*antapāla*) sent the foreign goods to the superintendent of tolls after assessing their quality and stamping them with the seal-stamp.[1]

According to the same authority, the accountants of the different districts were to present themselves before the superintendents of accounts with their account books sealed.[2] The work finished by government goldsmiths was to be examined both morning and evening and then kept under lock and sealed with seals of the manufacturer and the superintendent till they were handed over to the customer.[3] The master of a householder, a superintendent or chief officer who made use of unauthorised seals was to be punished with first, middlemost or the highest amercement or even with death penalty.[4] Kauṭilya has given somewhat detailed rules about the custody of sealed deposits. According to him, if persons, who having received sealed deposits under certain circumstances handed them over to those other than their rightful owners or denied their receipt, had not only to restore the deposits but were also liable to be subjected to various punishments.[5]

Curiously enough, as a measure to check washermen from wearing the clothes sent for washing, Kauṭilya prescribes that they were to wear their own clothes stamped with the mark of a cudgel, failing which they were to be fined three *paṇas*.[6]

Early Tamil literature has an interesting account of sea-trade from the port of Puhar and relates the entry of *Yavana* ships into the port. The customs officers there sealed the cargo with the tiger signet-ring of the king in order to assess the customs dues.[7]

Literary evidence also refers to seal-impressions on clay tablets serving as passports. The *Arthaśāstra* lays down that the superintendent of Passports (*mudrādhyaksha*) should issue passports on the payment of one *māshaka* per pass.[8] These passes entitled persons to enter into, or go out of, the

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1. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 21.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 7.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 13.
4. *Ibid.*, IV, 9.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 12.
6. *Ibid.*, VI, 1, *mudgarāṅkādanyadvāsaḥ paridadhānastripaṇaṁ daṇḍaṁ dadyuḥ.*
7. Majumdar and Altekar, *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 358.
8. II, 34, *Mudrādhyaksho mudrāṁ māshakeṇa dadyāt.* Dr. Motichandra points out that the *Prāchīna Prabandha Saṅgraha* has a reference to one Vidyādhara being appointed as *sarvamudrādhyaksha*. According to him, this officer kept all the seals of the king

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country at will.[1] A fine of twelve *paṇas* was levied on the native of a country who entered or went out of it without a valid passport.[2] One who produced a false pass was punished with the first amercement,[3] but the punishment meted out to foreigners for the same offence was very severe.[4] These passes were examined by the *Vivitādhyaksha*.[5] The *Nāvadhyaksha* could arrest a person who came from a long distance without a pass.[6] He was to provide free passes to the aged, the afflicted, royal messengers and pregnant women.[7]

On the boundaries, ferrymen were to confiscate the property of a person travelling without a pass.[8] Kauṭilya also enjoins that commodities from or to the harem be allowed to reach their destination as indicated by the seal mark.[9]

The *Mahābhārata* mentions the siege of the city of Dvārakā by the Śālvas. As a precautionary measure, the rulers of the beleaguered city ordered that nobody was to enter or leave it without a valid pass.[10]

A similar injunction is to be found in the *Nītivākyāmṛita* of Somadeva.[11] The *Harivaṁśa* commands that all persons desirous of going out should go with a seal-stamp of the king. The door-keeper was not to admit any one who did not possess it.[12] Regarding internal security, we find an injunction in the *Mudrārākshasa* that none not imprinted with a stamp was to be allowed to

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(*Kāśi ka Itihāsa*, p. 135). Issuing passports would also have been his duty. The *Śukranīti*, however, says that a king should never give his particular *chihna* to anybody (II, 417, *svaviśishṭaṁ cha yachchihnaṁ na dadyātkasyachinnṛipaḥ*).

1. *Ibid.*, II. 34, *Samudro Janapadaṁ praveshṭuṁ nishkramituṁ vā labheta.*
2. *Ibid.*, *Dvādaśapaṇamamudro jānapado dadyāt.*
3. *Ibid.*, *Kūṭamudrāyāṁ pūrvassāhasadaṇḍaḥ.*
4. *Ibid.*, *Tirojanapadasyottamaḥ.*
5. *Ibid.*, *Vivitādhyaksho mudrāṁ paśyet.*
6. *Ibid.*, II. 28, *dirghapathikamamudraṁ chopagrāhayet.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, 1.20:
   Sarvaṁchāvekshitaṁ dravyaṁ nibaddhāgamanirgamam,
   nirgachchhedabhigachehhedvā mudrā saṅkrāntabhūmikam.
10. *Mahābhārata* (Poona ed.), *Vanaparva*, 16. 19, *Na chāmudrobhiniryāti nachāmudraḥ praveśyate.*
11. *Nitivākyāmṛita* (ed. by Pannalal Soni), chap. XX, pp. 200-01, *namudrahastośodhito vā durgamadhye kaśchitpraveśennirgachhhedvā. Śrūyate kila Hūṇādhipatiḥ paṇyapuṭavāhibhiḥ subhaṭaiḥ Chitrakūṭaṁ jagrāha.*
12. *Mudrayā saha gachchhantu rājño ye gantumīpsavaḥ,*
    Na chāmudraḥ praveshṭavyo dvārapālasya paśyataḥ.
    (*vide ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 45).

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leave or enter the camp.[1] Siddhārthaka, a character in the play *Mudrā-rāksha*, arrested as he had not obtained a seal from Bhāgurāyaṇa, the head of the camp.[2] The *Dhammapada* Commentary also refers to a ring given by the king to the gate-keeper as a sign of authority. It was withdrawn when the gates were closed for the night.[3] Though the poor servant had arrived well before the closing hour fixed for the gate, he had to remain outside as the king had purposely withdrawn the seal before scheduled time.[4]

The practice of offering votive-tablets in the *chaityas* seems to find approval of the Buddha. According to him, a person doing so could acquire much merit.[5] The *Harsha-charita* refers to heaps of baked clay-tablets bearing *chaitya* device in the *āśrama* of the Buddhist monk, Divākaramitra.[6]

The *Divyāvadāna* relates the story of Kuṇāla, a son of emperor Aśoka, being blinded on the authority of a forged letter bearing the impress of the royal ivory seal, sent by the evil-minded queen, Tishyarakshitā.[7] The *Mudrārākshasa* at one place refers to Chāṇakya's injunction to Siddhārthaka to seal letters with his seal[8] and at another, to a letter and parcel stamped with the seal of the minister Rākshasa.[9] In fact the entire plot of the play is woven around the *mudrā* (seal) of the minister, Rākshasa. The *Daśakumāra-charitaṁ* of Daṇḍin relates the episode of a box containing costly attire and ornaments being sealed by the signet-ring of a princess.[10]

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1. *Mudrārākshasa* (ed. K. H. Dhruva, 3rd ed.), p. 64. See *supra*, p. 16; cf. *ibid.*, p. 65, *tasmādamudrālāñchhitamapi māṁ nishkrāmantuṁ kasya śaktirnivārayituṁ*; also *ibid.*, *na punaste'mudrālāñachhitasyeto nishkramaṇopāyaḥ.*
2. Act V, p. 69, *tatkimagṛihītamudraḥ kaṭakānnishkramasi.*
3. Harvard Oriental Series, XXIX, p. 103.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. Dutt), III, pt. 1, p. 76,
   anyatamenāpyupāsakena tasminpradeśe mṛittikāpiṇḍo dattaḥ. Evaṁ chittam-abhisaṁskṛitaṁ. Padāvihārasya tāvadiyatpuṇyamākhyātaṁ bhagavatā. Asya tu mṛittikāpiṇḍasya kiyaatpuṇyaṁ bhavishyatīti.
   Atha bhagavāṁstasya chetasā chittamājñayā gāthāṁ bhāshate:
   Śatam sahasrāṇi suvarnapiṇḍā jāmbūnadānāsya samā bhavanti,
   Yo Buddha-chaityeshu prasannachitta āropayenmṛittikāpiṇḍamekam.
   I owe this reference to Prof. V. S. Pathak.
6. *Harshacharita, uchchhvāsa* VIII, *nikaṭa-kuṭi-kṛita-paṭala-mudrāchaityaka mūrtaye.*
7. *Divyāvadāna*, (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 410.
8. Act I, p. 12, *anayā mudrayā mudrayainaṁ.*
9. Act V, p. 63, *tadgṛihīto mayārya-Chāṇakyena prathama lekhito'mātya-Rākshasasya mudrā lāñchhitoyaṁ lekhastasyaiva mudrālāñchhiteyaṁ chābharaṇapeṭikā*; cf. also Act V, p. 71, *mudrā-lāñchhitā peṭikā.*
10. Edited by Taranatha Tarkavachaspati, p. 100. *Sāyañcha rājakanyakāṅgulīyakamudritaṁ vāsatāmbūlavarāṁśukayugala-bhūshaṇāvayavagarbhāñcha peṭikāṁ.*

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APPENDIX D

According to Fa-hien, the ruler of *Hilo* (Hidda) in the *Na-kie* (Nagaraka) country, fearing that the Buddha's bones enshrined in his city might be stolen or replaced by false ones, selected eight persons of high families who were to seal up the door of the shrine containing the relic every night with seals committed to them by the king. Every day early morning these persons would come, inspect their seals and, after satisfying themselves that they had not been tampered with, opened the doors.[1]

The *Harshacharita*[2] informs us of a *Grāmākshapaṭalika* coming to Harsha, camping not far from the capital, and presenting to him a newly-made golden seal bearing the device of a bull,[3] wherewith to stamp the orders of the day. The seal fell from Harsha's hand on the river bank impressing the letters on the soft moist clay. Others considered it a bad omen but Harsha interpreted it to mean that the whole earth was to be stamped with one seal of his command.

When the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-tsang, finally took leave of king Harsha the latter wrote letters to the rulers of all such countries through which the former was to pass, requesting them to provide facilities of conveyance etc., to the pilgrim. The letters were written on fine cotton stuff and impressed with Harsha's seal on wax as a mark of authentication.[4]

Literary evidence also attests to the care and attention laid on the proper custody of seals. According to the *Milindapañho*,[5] the job of a custodian was so highly prized that one would even sacrifice his most precious belongings for merely securing it. We learn from the *Chariyāpiṭaka* that, for keeping secure the post of the keeper of seals, it was essential to win the favour of the people of the inner apartment by even bribing them or else

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1. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 18-19.
2. *Harshacharita, uchchhvāsa* VII, p. 53.
3. *Ibid., vṛishāṅkaṁ hāṭakamayīṁ mudrāṁ.* We have Harsha's Sonpat Copper seal with the bull device (*CII*, III, no. 52, pl. XXII B). The same also occurs on his terracotta seals from Nalanda. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta refers to the seal of that ruler containing Grauḍa device and the device also occurs on his Gaya Copper-plate (*supra*, p. 65).

   As regards the material for manufacture of seals, the *Mitākṣharā* testifies that they could be of gold, silver, copper, iron, etc.

   Sauvarṇīṁ rājatīm tāmrāmāyasīṁ vā suśobhitām,
   salilena sakṛiddhautaṁ prakshipet tatra mudrikām.

   See *Śabdakalpadruma, s.v. mudrā*. Cf. also *Śukranīti*, IV, 415-16.
4. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui-li*, pp. 189-90.
5. *Milindapañho*, ed. by Trenckner, p. 280.

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he might lose the office.[1] The servants and personal attendants of kings are enjoined in the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* to accept objects of toilet and other items of personal use for kings only after examining the seals thereon very carefully.[2] The *Śukranītisāra* emphasises the importance of a seal when it lays down that a document, duly bearing the stamp of a king was, in fact, the king.[3] So common was the use of seals that it came handy to the poet, albeit of a later age, as a simile in comparing the breaking of a seal on a document with the opening of the lips of a person against his determination to keep them sealed.[4]

An earlier text compares a *yogī's* control of his mind and senses against sins with that of a pilot's putting a seal on the steering apparatus of a boat against being tampered.[5]

The use of seals on official and legal documents[6] has been considerably emphasised in the *Smṛiti* literature. According to Yājñavalkya, the cloth or copper-plate bearing the king's orders was to have the stamp of his seal.[7]

Kātyāyana[8] points out that an official document or record, when duly

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1. *Chariyāpiṭaka* (ed. by B. C. Law.), p. 74.
   Yathā amachcho muddikāmo rañño antepure jane,
   na deti tesaṁ dhanadhaññaṁ muddito parihāyati.
   In the inscriptions of mediaeval times, a subordinate ruler or a viceroy is sometimes referred to as conducting the entire business of seal (cf. *samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripanthayati, EI*, XXXII, p. 152, fn 2). The reference to an officer *mahāmudrāmātya* occurs in an inscription (*IA*, XI, p. 222, line 21).
2. *Kāmandakīya Nitisāra* (Venkateswar Press), VII, 28,
   prasādhanādi yatkiñchittatsarvaṁparichārakāḥ,
   upaninyurnarendrāya suparīkshitamudritam.
3. II, 283,
   Nṛipa saṁchihnitaṁ lekhyaṁ nṛipastanna nṛipo nṛipaḥ.
4. *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, I, 8,
   Divaṁ yiyāsurmama vāchimudrā
   madatta yo vākpatirājadevaḥ,
   tasyānujanmā kavibāndhavasya
   bhinatti tāṁ samprati sindhurājaḥ.
5. *Milindapañho*, ed. by Trenckner, p. 379,
   Puna cha paraṁ mahārāja niyyāmako yante muddikaṁ deti: mā kochi yantaṁ āmasitthāti, evameva kho mahārāja yogināyogāvacharena chitte saṁvara-muddikā dātabbā.
6. The practice of stamping a legal contract with an official seal goes back to the days of Hammurabi (Will Durant, *op. cit.*, p. 220n.).
7. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (ed. by Narayana Sastri Khiste), I. 317.
8. Kane (ed.), *Kātyāyanasmṛitisāroddhāraḥ*, p. 39, verse 296,
   mudrāśuddhaṁ kriyāśuddhaṁ bhuktiśuddhaṁ sachihnakam,
   rājñaḥ svahastasaṁśuddhaṁ śudhimāyāti śāsanam.

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sealed, should be considered thoroughly valid for all intents and purpsoes and, as such, preserved carefully.[1] The same authority goes to the extent of observing that any document, without a seal, was worthless like the evidence of a dead person.[2]

Likewise, the *Śukranīti* enjoins the stamping of royal orders by the officials first and finally by the king.[3] The authenticity of signatures and seals was carefully examined before passing any judgement.[4] The party winning a law suit was handed over the letter of judgement written by the presiding judge duly sealed with the official seal.[5]

The *mudritā*, one of the four types of courts,[6] was presided by a judge[7] appointed by the king and authorised to use the royal seal.[8] Summons

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cf. also Vasishṭha,

rājñā svahasta saṁkyta ṁ svamudrā chihnitaṁ tathā
rājakīyaṁ smṛitaṁ lekhyaṁ sarveshvartheshu sākshimat.

(*vide*, *Dharmakośa*, p. 373).

1. *Kātyāyanasmṛitisāroddhāraḥ*, p. 9, verse 48, *likitā tu sadā dhāryā, mudritā rājamudrayā.*
2. *Ibid.*, p. 40, verse 303, *vināpi mudrayā lekhyaṁ pramāṇaṁ mṛitasākshikam.*
3. *Śukranītisāra* (Venkateswar Press), II, 359 :

   svasvamudrāchihnitaṁ cha lekhyānte kuryurevahi,
   aṅgīkṛitamitilikhenmudrayechcha tato nṛipaḥ.

   also *ibid.*, II, 361:

   samudraṁ vilikheyurvai sarve mantrigaṇāstataḥ,
   rājā dṛishṭamitilikhedrāksamyagdarśanākshamaḥ.

   also *ibid.*, IV. 692:

   rājñāsvahastasaṁyuktaṁ svamudrāchihnitaṁ tathā,
   rājakīyaṁ smṛitaṁ lekhyaṁ prakṛitibhiścha mudritam.
4. *Kāryo yatnena mahatā nirṇayo rājaśāsane,*
   rājñaḥ svahasto mudrā lekhyākshara darśanāt.

   Prajāpati, *vide Dharmakośa*, p. 372.
5. *Prāḍvivākahastāṅkaṁ mudritaṁ rājamudrayā,*
   sidhyarthe vādino dadyājjayino jayapatrakam.

   Vṛiddhavasishṭha, *vide Dharamkośa*, p. 378.
6. *Bṛihaspati, Vyavahāra*, chapt. I, V. 57,
   Pratishṭhitā'pratishṭhitā cha mudritā śāstritā tathā.
7. *Ibid.*, *mudritādhyakshasaṁyutā.*
8. The *Smṛitichandrikā* on the above cited verse in *Bṛihaspati* says : *adhyakshaḥ prāḍvivākaḥ. Vyavahāra darśane adhikṛitatvāt. Tasya cha haste rājñā svamudrā prativādyānayanārthaṁ deyetyata-evāvagamyate* (*vide Dharmakośa*, p. 50).

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bearing seal stamps were sent to defendants for appearing in the courts.[1] Tampering with royal seals was considered as one of the twenty-two major crimes.[2]

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1. *Bṛihaspati, Vyavahāra*, chap. I, 141,
   Yasyābhiyogaṁ kurute tathenāśaṅkayā pi vā
   tamevānayedrājā mudrayā purusheṇa vā.

   also *ibid.*, I, 147,
   mudrāṁ dadyādyathāpatraṁ purushaṁ vā samādiśet.

2. *Rājño drohakarttā cha tanmudrābhedakastathā,*
   dvāviṁśatipadānyāhur nṛipajñeyāni paṇḍitaḥ.
   (Pitāmaha, quoted in the *Dharmakośa*).

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8. Sealing, Pallas standing, Rajghat, Allahabad Museum no. 64. (p. 337)

9. Sealing, head—Graeco-Roman style, Rajghat (photograph from the Arch. Surv. of India). (p. 337)

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10. Sealing, Herakles, standing, resting his head on a club, Rajghat, Allahabad Museum, no. 181.

11. Sealing, head Graeco-Roman style Rajghat, Deptt. of A.I.H.,C. & Arch., B.H.U., no. 59. (p. 337)

12. Sealing, Kshatrapa head, Rajghat, Deptt. of A.I.H.,C., & Arch. B.H.U. (p. 337)

13. Sealing, winged Nike, Rajghat (photograph from the Arch. Surv. of India). (p. 336)

14. Sealing, Herakles, standing, holding a club and lion's skin in his right and left hands respectively, Rajghat (photograph from the Arch. Surv. of India). (p. 336)

PLATE XXXVI

1. Sealing, Lakshmī, seated, Rajghat, Lucknow Museum, no. 49.196. (p. 339)

2. Sealing, Archer, standing, Rajghat, Lucknow Museum, no. 49.190. (p. 338)

3. Sealing, 'Lion-slayer' coin-device, Rajghat (photograph from the Arch. Surv. of India). (p. 338)

4. Sealing, Durgā on lion, Rajghat, Lucknow Museum, no. 42.65/8. (p. 339)

5. Sealing, man playing on *vīṇā* and an elephant, Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6477. (p. 338)

6. Sealing, 'Lion-slayer' coin-device, Rajghat, Lucknow Museum, no. 49. 198. (p. 338)

7. Sealing, two impressions : (a) two human figures and a bird and (b) bust of a king, Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6454. (p. 339)

8. Sealing, 'Lion-slayer' coin-device, Rajghat, Allahabad Museum, no. 26. (p. 339)

9. Sealing, 'Archer' type coin-device, Rajghat (photograph from the Arch. Surv. of India).

10. Sealing, horse and *yūpa* device, legend *Parākrama*, Sunet (photograph after *JRAS*, 1901, pl. facing p. 98). (pp. 65, 92, 200, 338).

11. Sealing, 'Lion-slayer' coin-device, Rajghat, Lucknow Museum, no. 49.198 (same as no. 6). (p. 338)

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	line	for	read	add/delete/remarks
3	32	Lachhagir	Lachchhagir	
26	38	634	6334	
29	8	*Viś(ā)mitrasya*	*Viśv(ā)mitrasya*	
29	35	Ṭimitra	Timitra	
30	24	Ṭimitra	Timitra	Transfer the sentence beginning with 'He' from fn 1 to fn 2.
31	7	—	—	Add—(pl. 111, 1) after characters.
32	4	—	—	Add—'and one from Kauśāmbī' after Rajghat
32	31	—	—	Add—'from Kauśāmbī' after 305
51	17	Pavani,[5] Tirodi[6]	Tirodi,[5] Pattan[6]	
51	18	Pattan[7] and Dudia[8]	Dudia[7] and Pavani[8]	
55	29	XXVI	XXXI	
56	31	214-16	314-16	
64	5	a single sealing	two sealings	
65	26	XXXVI, 7	XXXVI, 10	
70	23	Śaśṅka	Śaśāṅka	
83	11,15	Śyāmalakshmī	[Śyāmā/Dhruva] lakshmī	
83	27	pointiff	pontiff	
83	33,34	—	—	Change order of fn 1 to fn 2 and fn 2 to fn 1.
89	27	*saṅkhalpaḥ*	*saṅkalpaḥ*	
93	36	Kumarāgupta	Kumāragupta	
95	13	them[8]	them	
95	39	—	—	Delete-8 of fn 8 and transfer its matter to fn 7, and *add*—'for a different view, see *before* it.
104	28	*ibid*	*ASIAR,*	
122	11	pl. IV, 1-5 pl. XXXIII,4-8	pl. IV, 1-4, 6 pl. XXXIII, 6-8	
135	9	*Indian History*	*History of India*	
140	13	*bhṭṭāraka*	*bhaṭṭāraka*	
141	13	Pītakeévara	Pītakeśvara	
145	35	*Pūrvārddha* 135.12	*Uttarārddha* 36.11	

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153	27	*Kūrma P.*, 40, 4	*Kūrma P., Uttarā-raddha*, 41.4	
164	30	*Bhagavata*	*Bhagavat*	
165	25	Rapproachement	Rapprochement	
166	29	*Śabdakalpadruma*	*Śabdakalpadruma*, III,	
173	25	XX, 1	XXI, 1	
174	34	*mudāṁ*	*mudaṁ*	
177	16			Add—'in the Allahabad Museum' after Jhusi.
179	23	241.46	261.46	
186	19	260.43	261.43	
198	27	p. 1, 60	I, p. 60	
213	4	*yāya*	*yārya*	
213	5	*Palaṅa*	*Palama*	
215	34	*ASIR*	*ASR*	
216	17	(Sakra)[7]	(Śakra)[6]	
216	19	*Jātaka*[6]	*Jātaka*[7]	
227	4	*sārthavāha*	*sārtthavāha*	
227	35	—	—	Add—'*in India*' after *Economics*.
232	4	Kaṭuilya	Kauṭilya	
233	18	*ārthavāha*	*sārtthavāha*	
235	12	—	—	Add—'branches of the' *before* guild.
237	17	belonging	belonging to	
239	28	*mā*	*māṁ*	
242	3	*Tāmbulakas*	*Tāmbūlakas*	
242	32	*nāgavallayapyatha*	*nāgavallyapyatha*	
255	5	Lachhagir	Lachchhagir	
266	25	Subbor	Suboor	
270	37	Boroda	Baroda	
272	7	mongoose	mangoose	
278	6	sealing	seal	
289	13	*Vyāghraka*[1]	*Vyāghraka*[2]	
289	16	*Upika*[2]	*Upika*[3]	
290	26	Takht-a-Bahi	Takht-i-Bahi	
293	21	pl. I, 10	pl. I, 4	
295	6	Vāsishthī	Vasishṭha	
295	7	Gautamī	Gautama	
357	29	*Palaeography*	*Indian Palaeography.*	

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153	27	*Kūrma P.*, 40, 4	*Kūrma P., Uttarā-raddha*, 41.4	
164	30	*Bhagavata*	*Bhagavat*	
165	25	Rapproachement	Rapprochement	
166	29	*Śabdakalpadruma*	*Śabdakalpadruma*, III,	
173	25	XX, 1	XXI, 1	
174	34	*mudāṁ*	*mudaṁ*	
177	16			Add—'in the Allahabad Museum' after Jhusi.
179	23	241.46	261.46	
186	19	260.43	261.43	
198	27	p. 1, 60	I, p. 60	
213	4	*yāya*	*yārya*	
213	5	*Palaṅa*	*Palama*	
215	34	*ASIR*	*ASR*	
216	17	(Sakra)[7]	(Śakra)[6]	
216	19	*Jātaka*[6]	*Jātaka*[7]	
227	4	*sārthavāha*	*sārtthavāha*	
227	35	—	—	Add—'*in India*' after *Economics*.
232	4	Kaṭuilya	Kauṭilya	
233	18	*ārthavāha*	*sārtthavāha*	
235	12	—	—	Add—'branches of the' *before* guild.
237	17	belonging	belonging to	
239	28	*mā*	*māṁ*	
242	3	*Tāmbulakas*	*Tāmbūlakas*	
242	32	*nāgavallayapyatha*	*nāgavallyapyatha*	
255	5	Lachhagir	Lachchhagir	
266	25	Subbor	Suboor	
270	37	Boroda	Baroda	
272	7	mongoose	mangoose	
278	6	sealing	seal	
289	13	*Vyāghraka*[1]	*Vyāghraka*[2]	
289	16	*Upika*[2]	*Upika*[3]	
290	26	Takht-a-Bahi	Takht-i-Bahi	
293	21	pl. I, 10	pl. I, 4	
295	6	Vāsishthī	Vasishṭha	
295	7	Gautamī	Gautama	
357	29	*Palaeography*	*Indian Palaeography.*	

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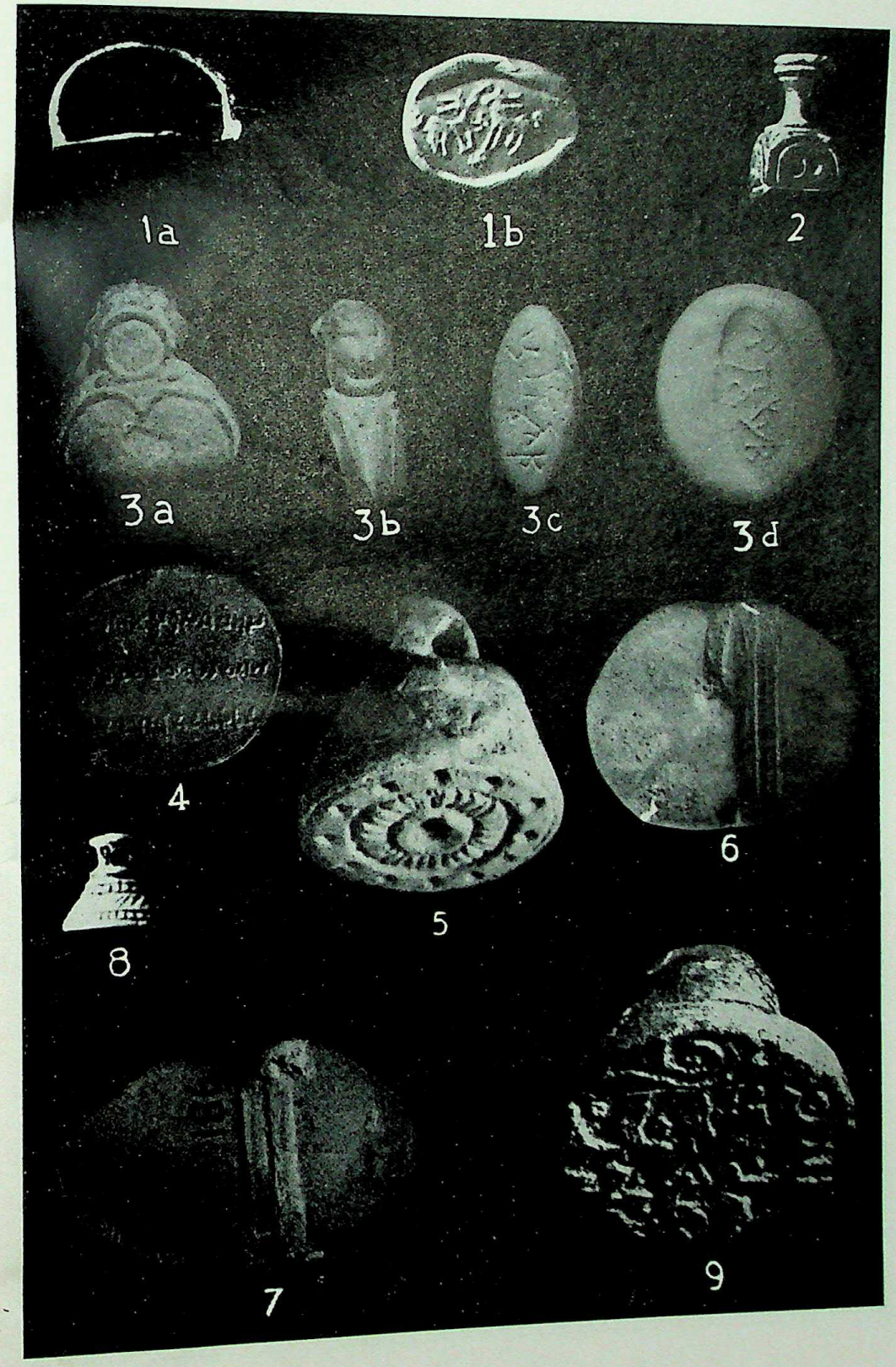
PLATE I



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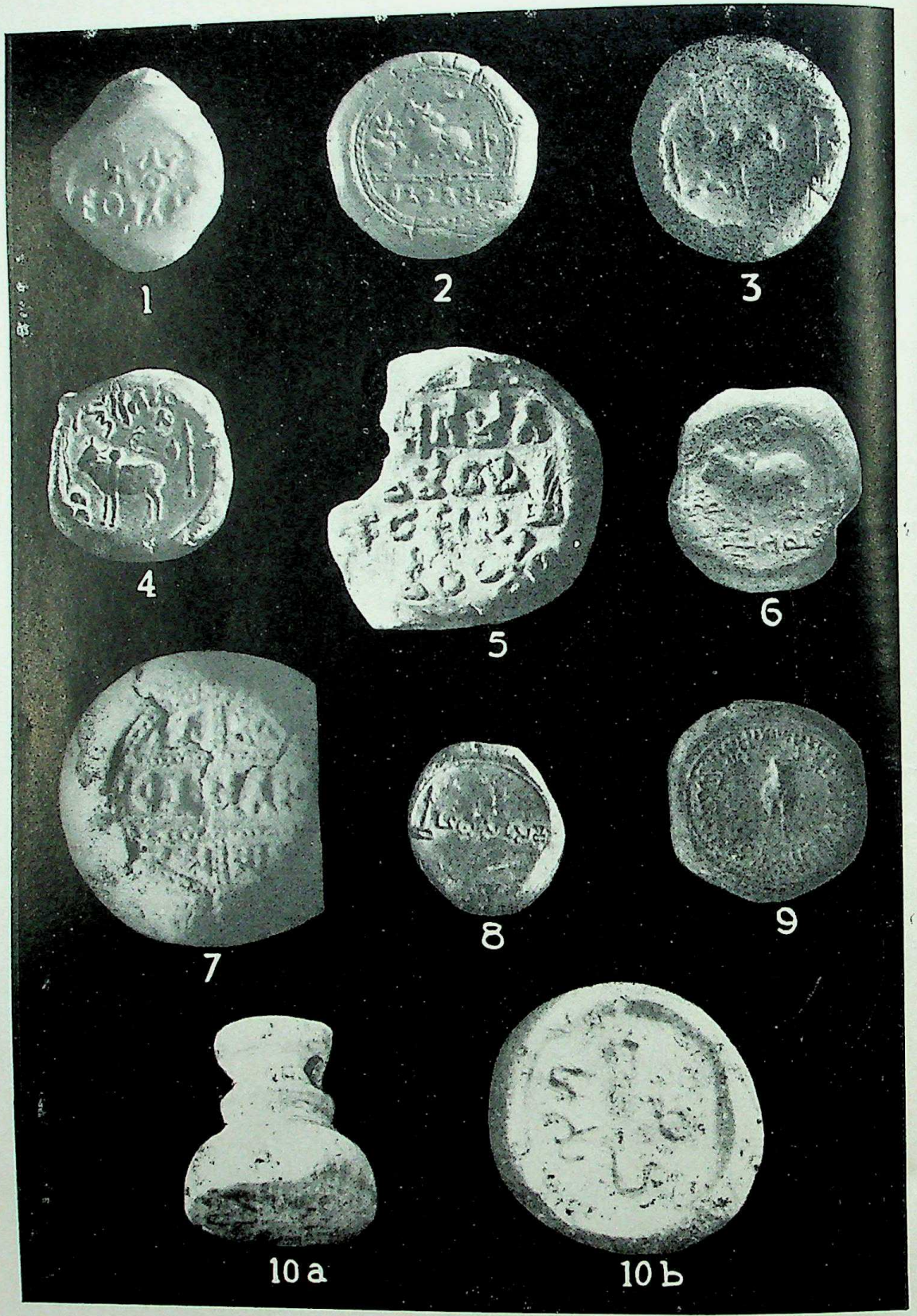

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PLATE III

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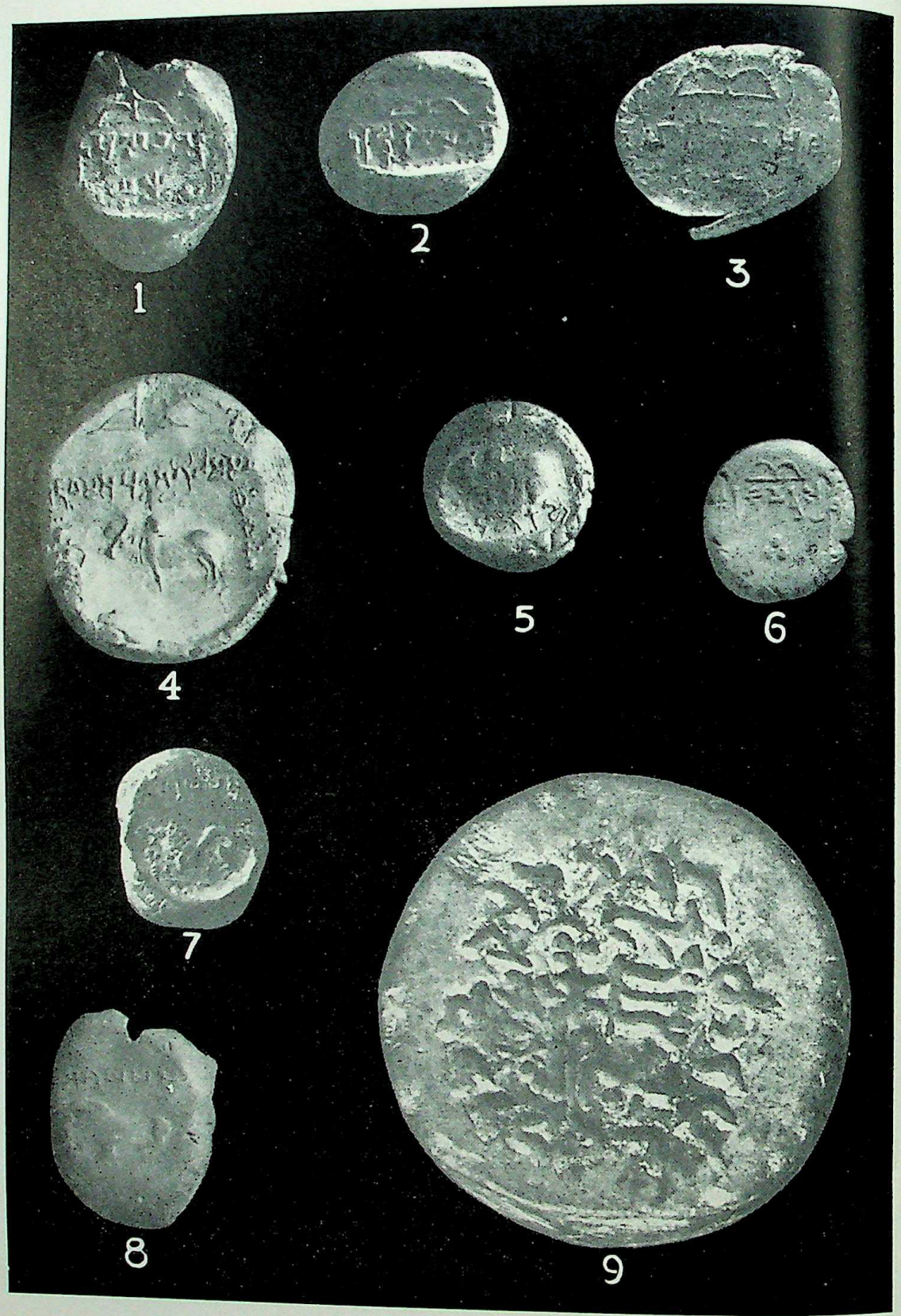

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PLATE V

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PLATE VI

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PLATE VII

1

2

3

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PLATE VIII

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PLATE IX

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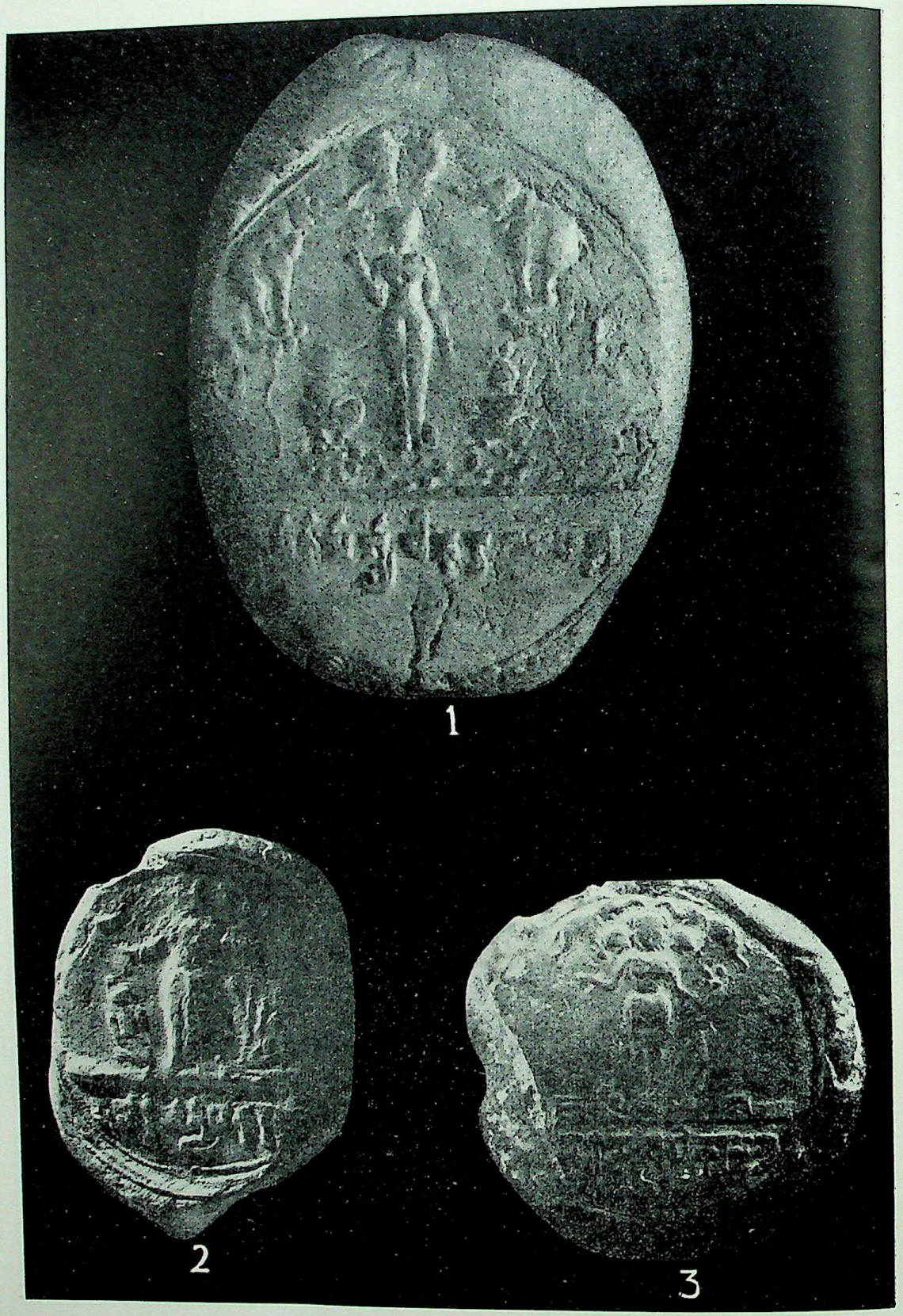

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PLATE XIII

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PLATE XIV

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PLATE XV

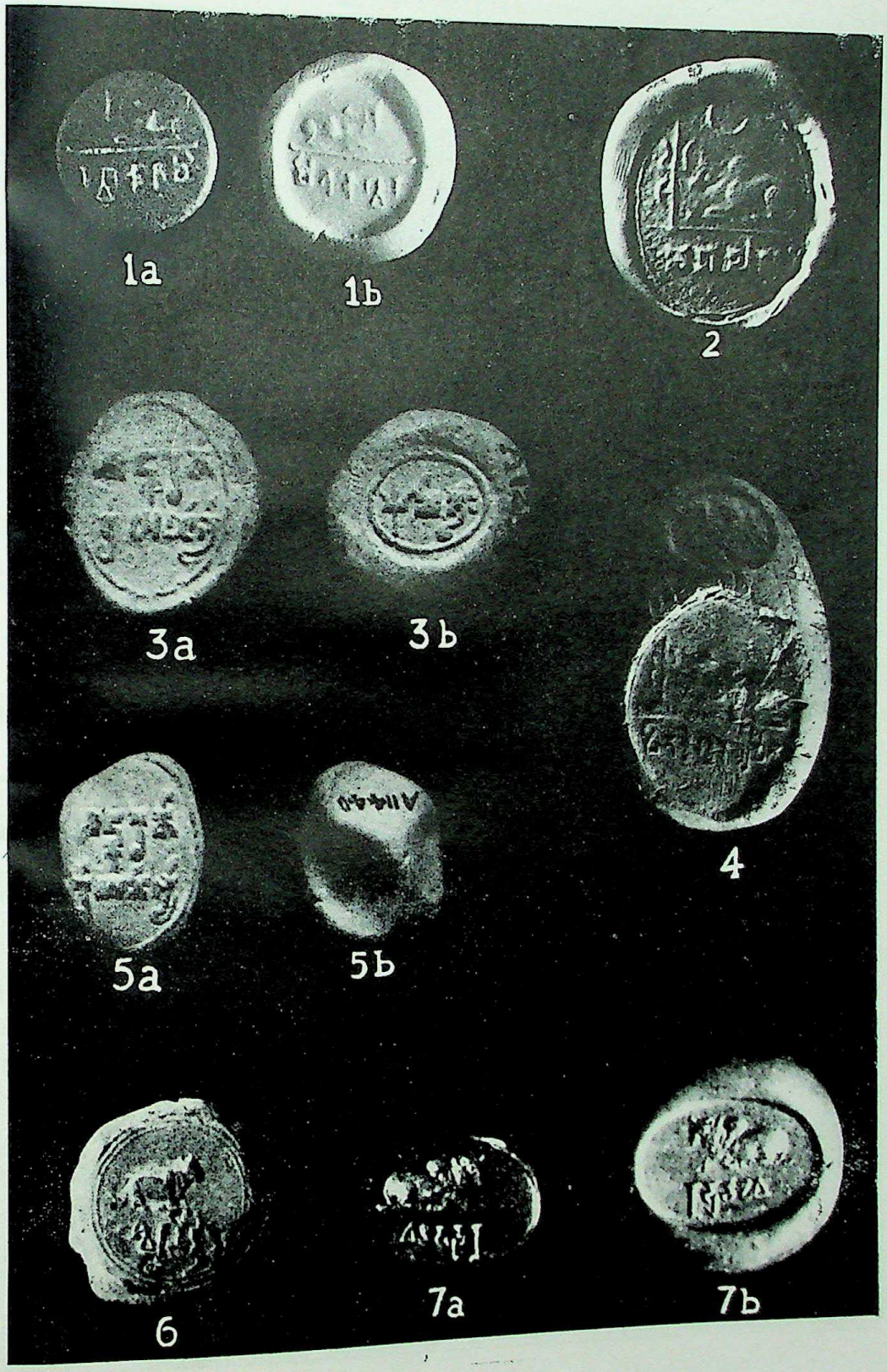

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PLATE XVI

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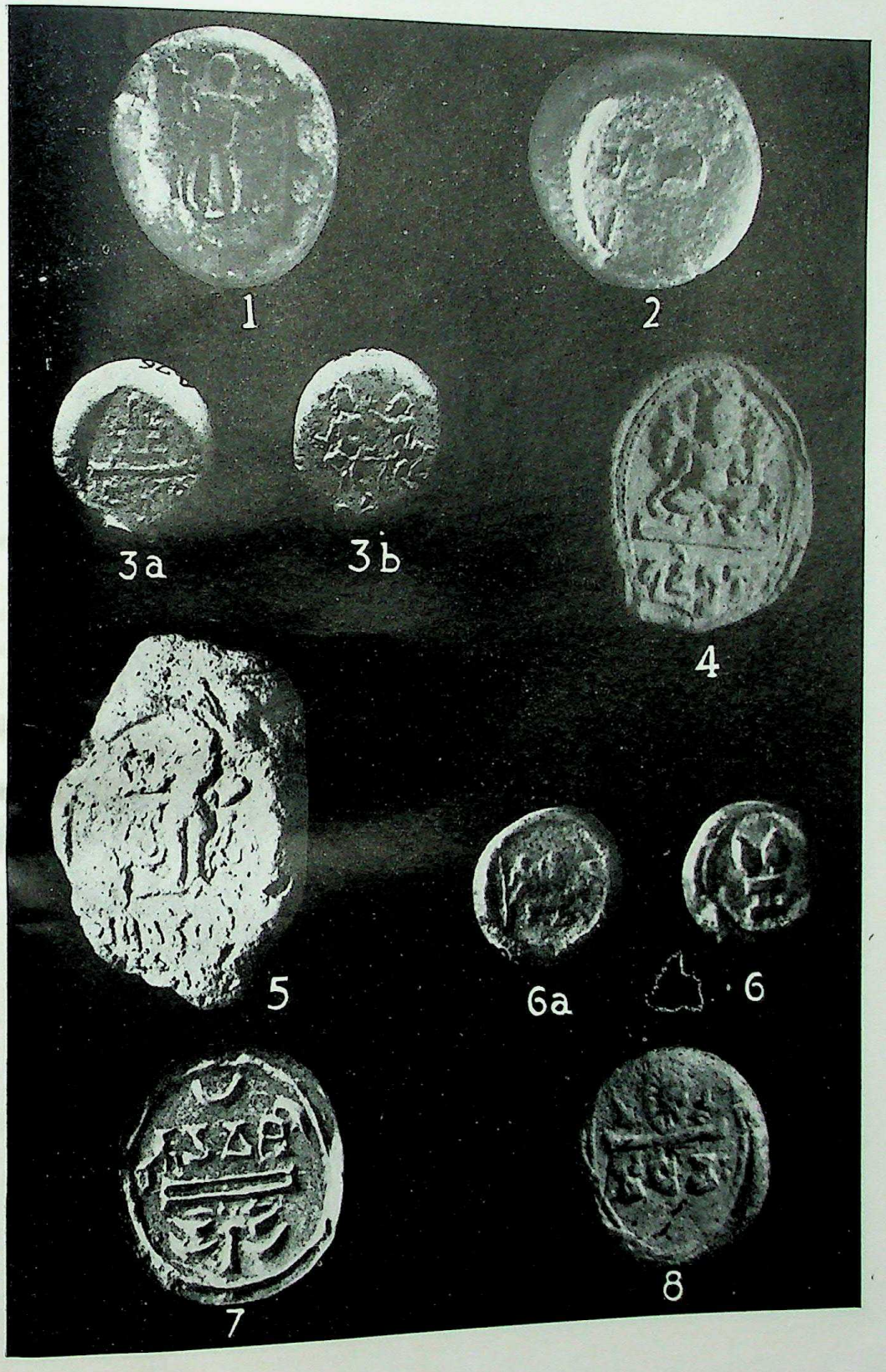
PLATE XVII



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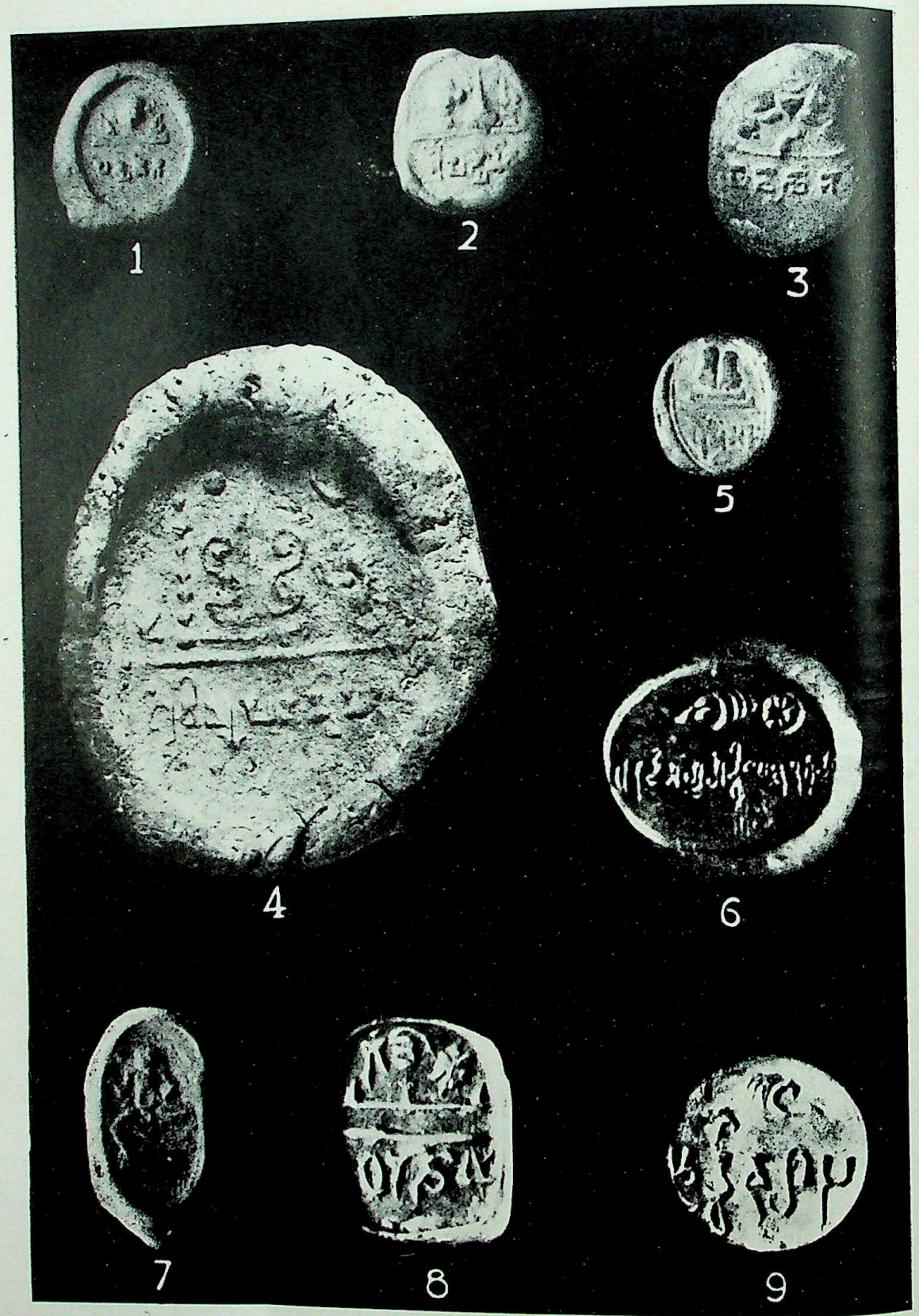

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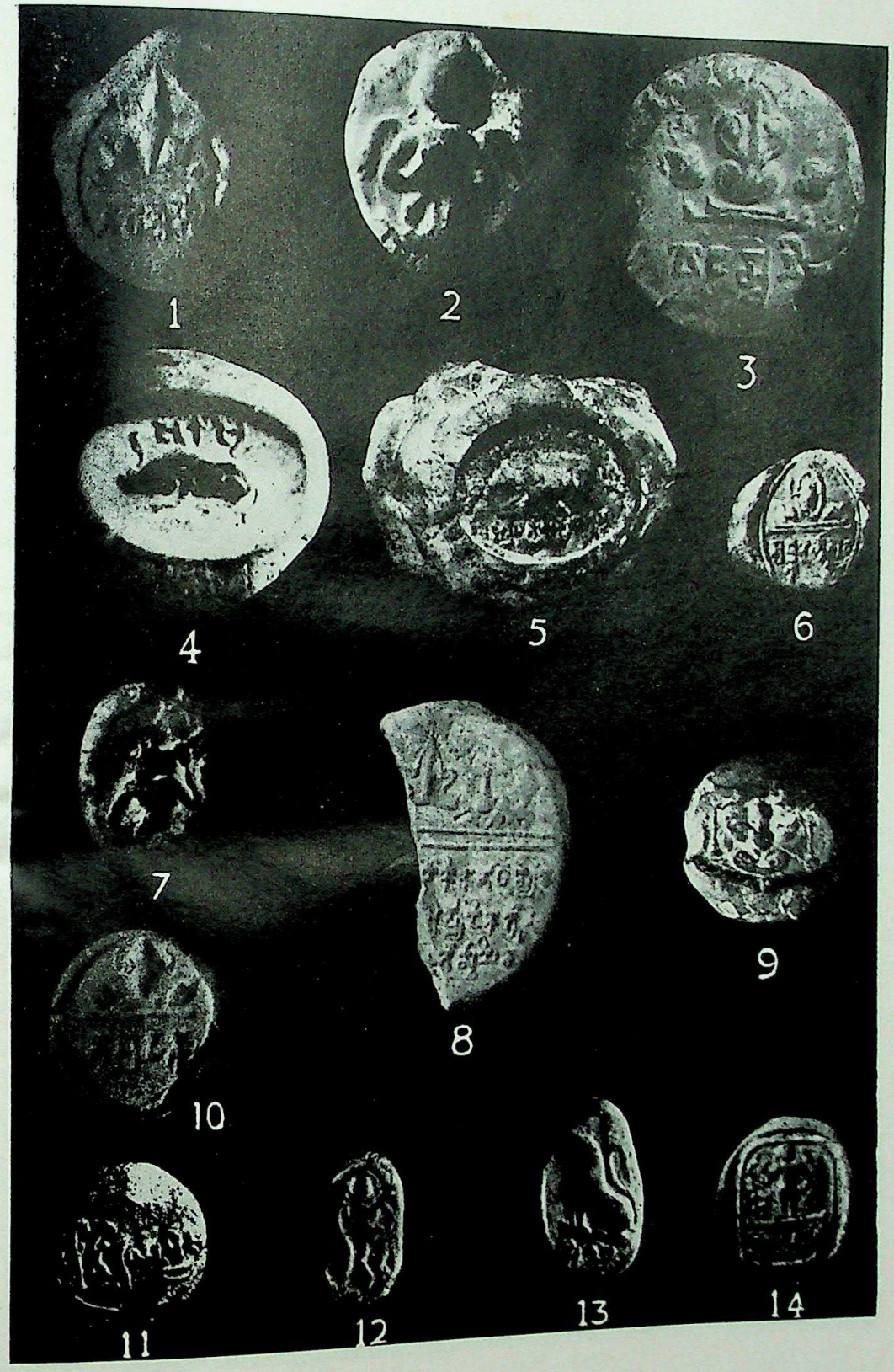

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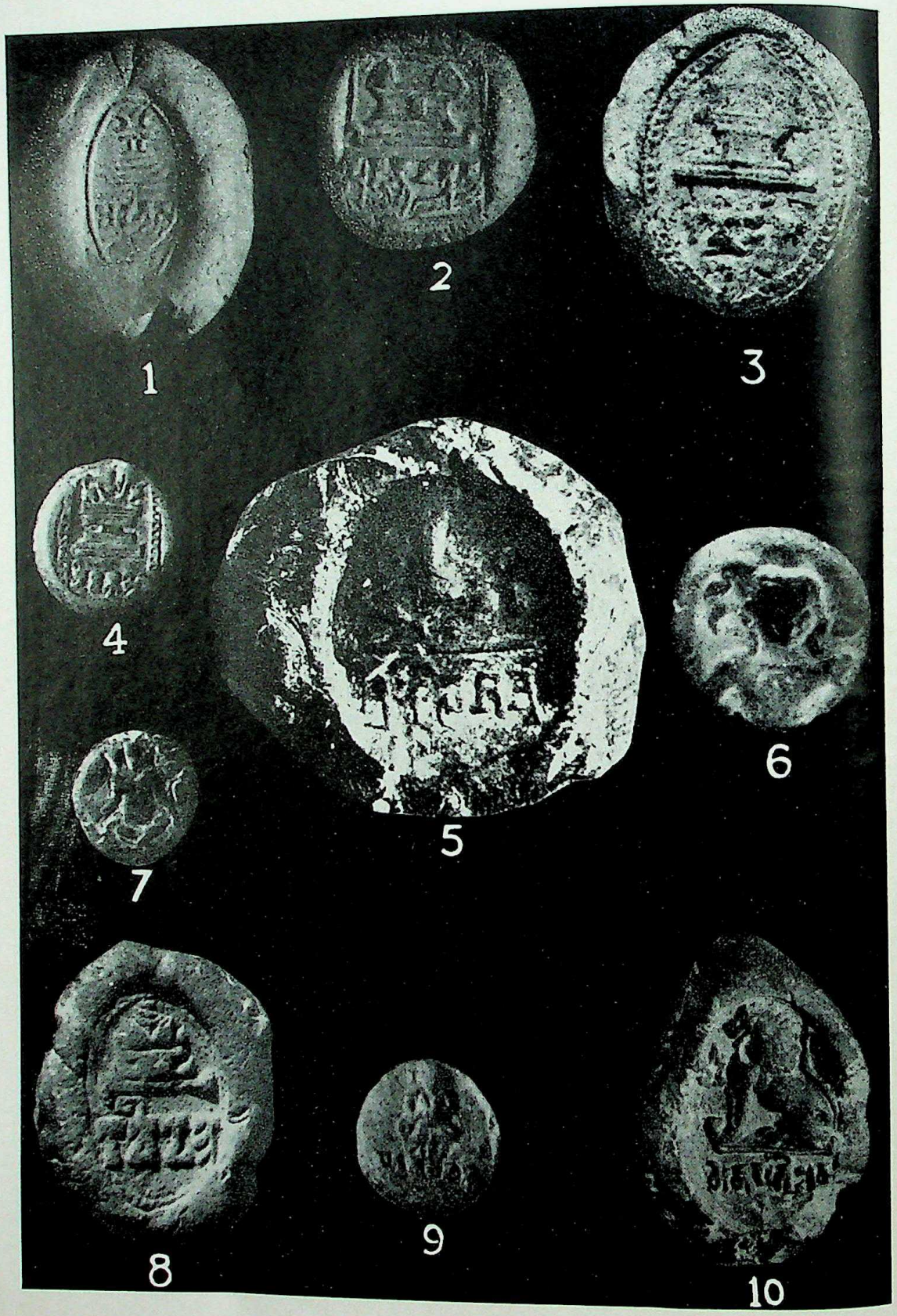

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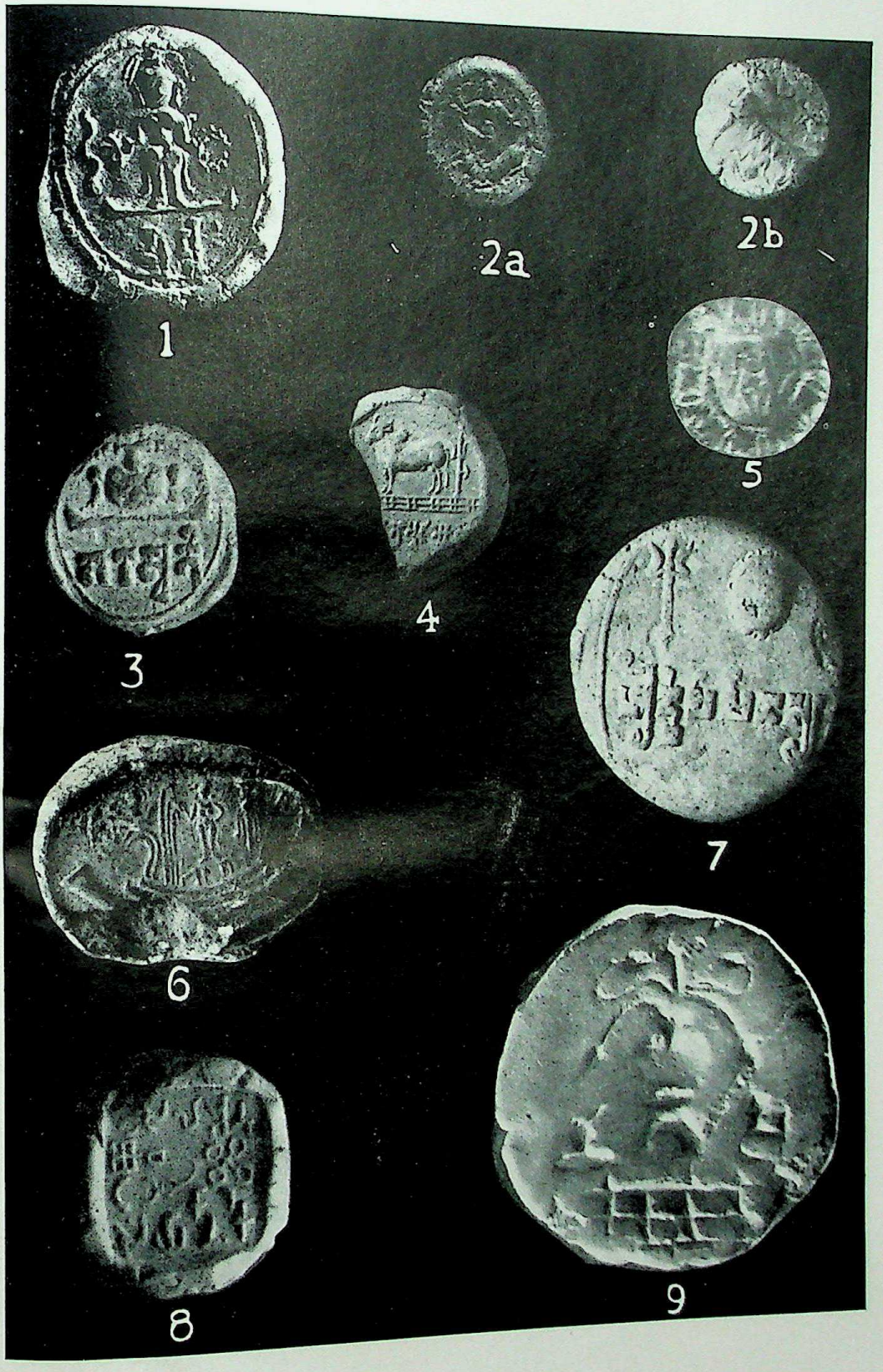

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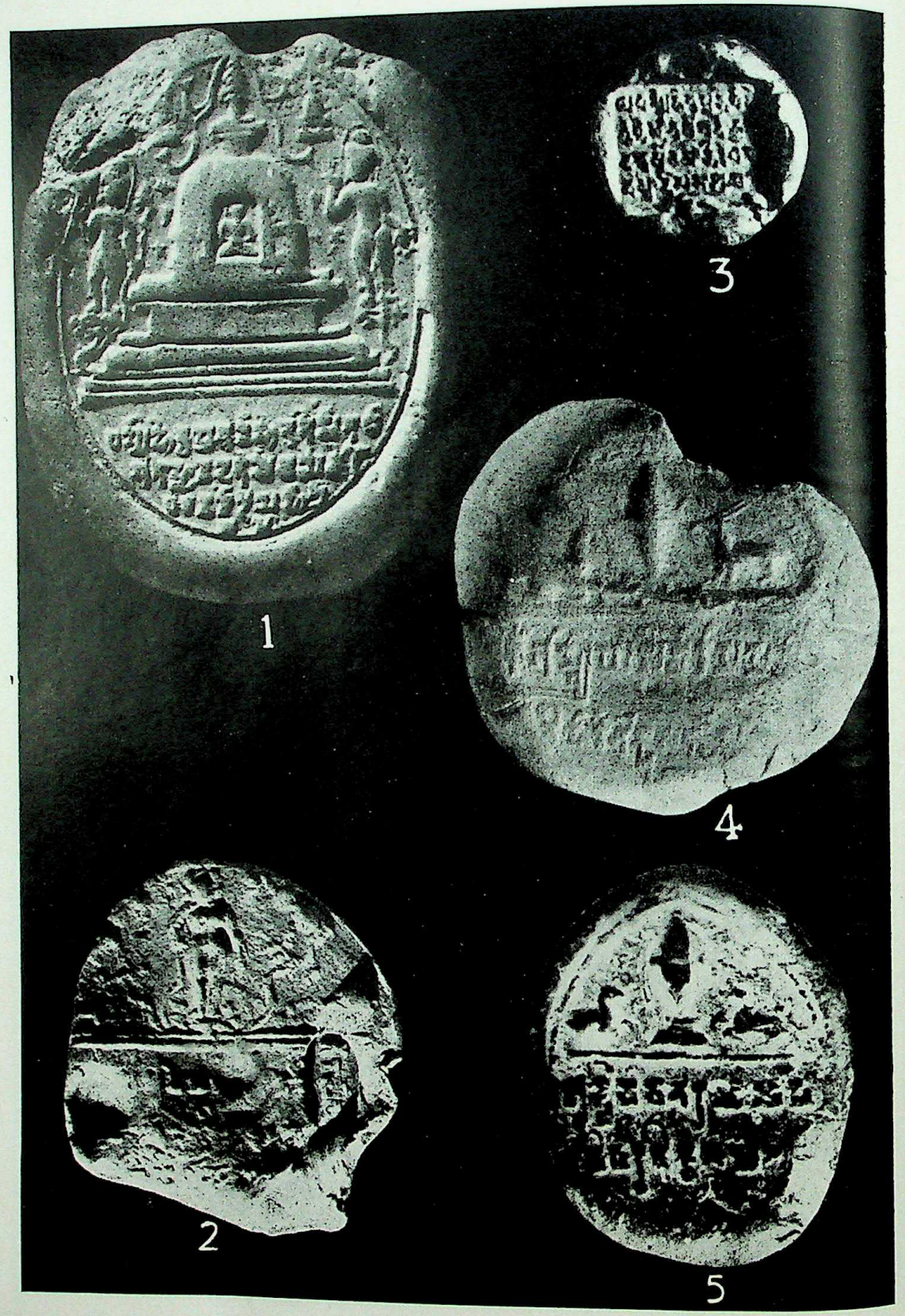

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PLATE XXIII

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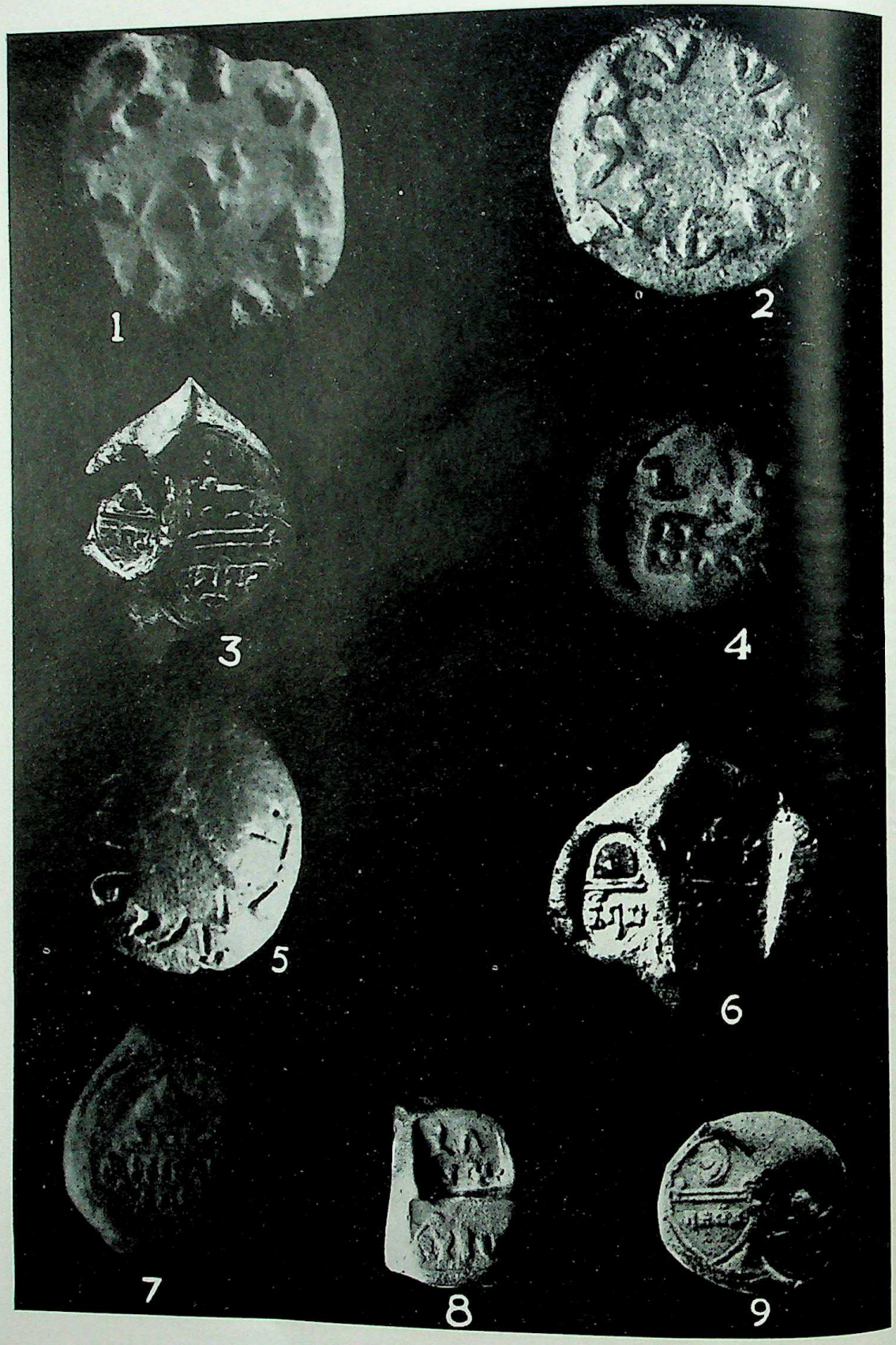
PLATE XXIV



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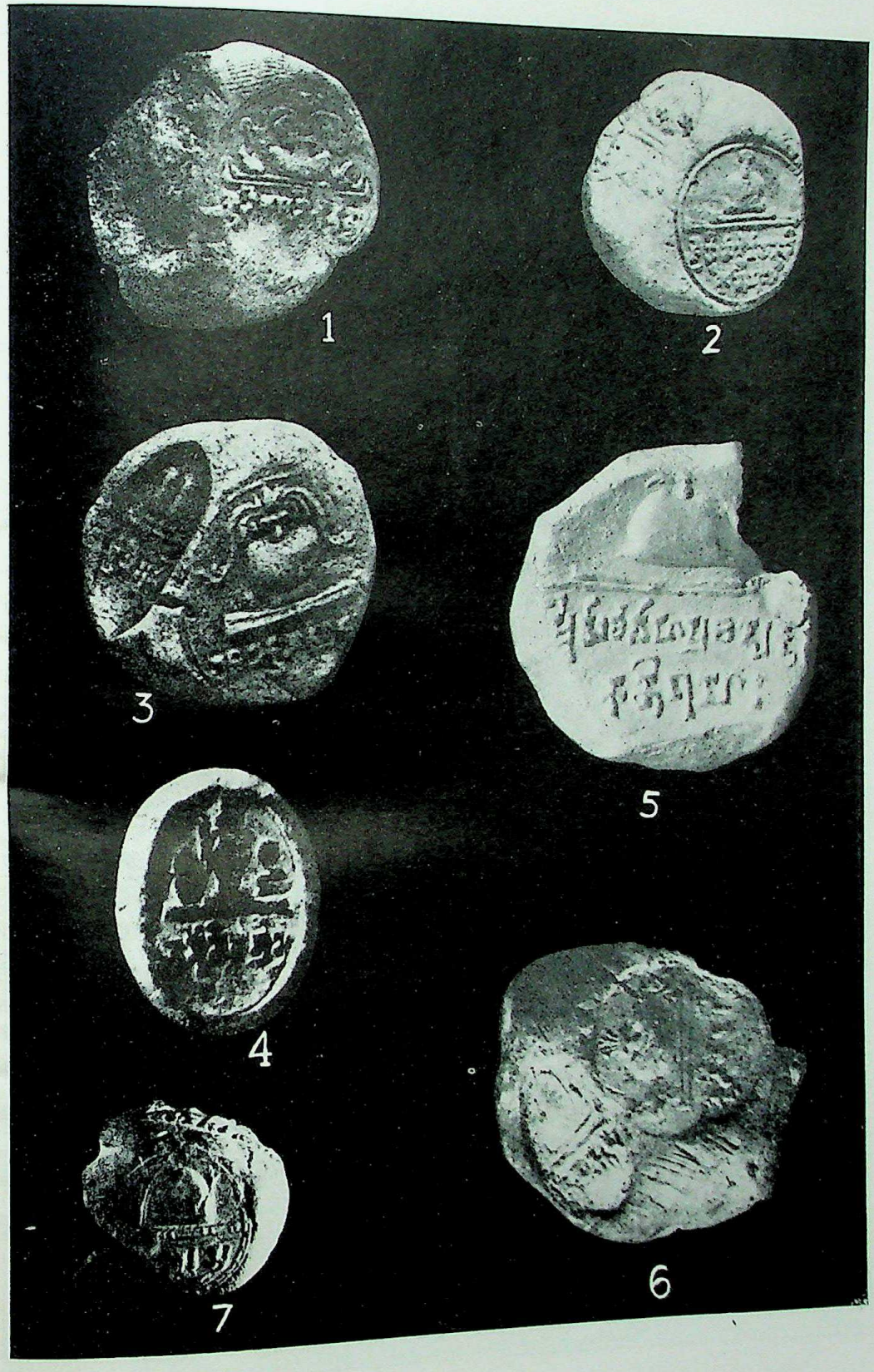

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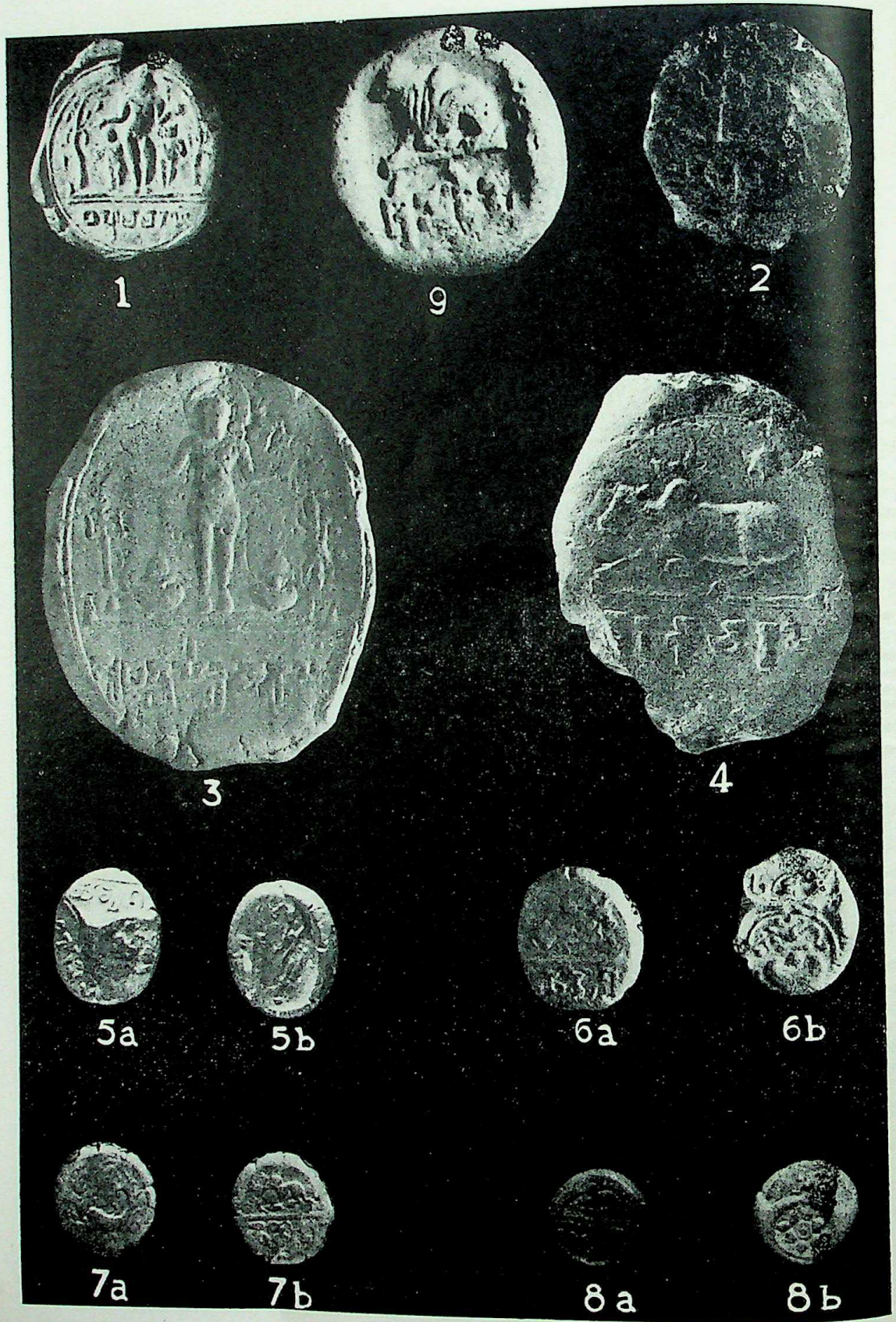

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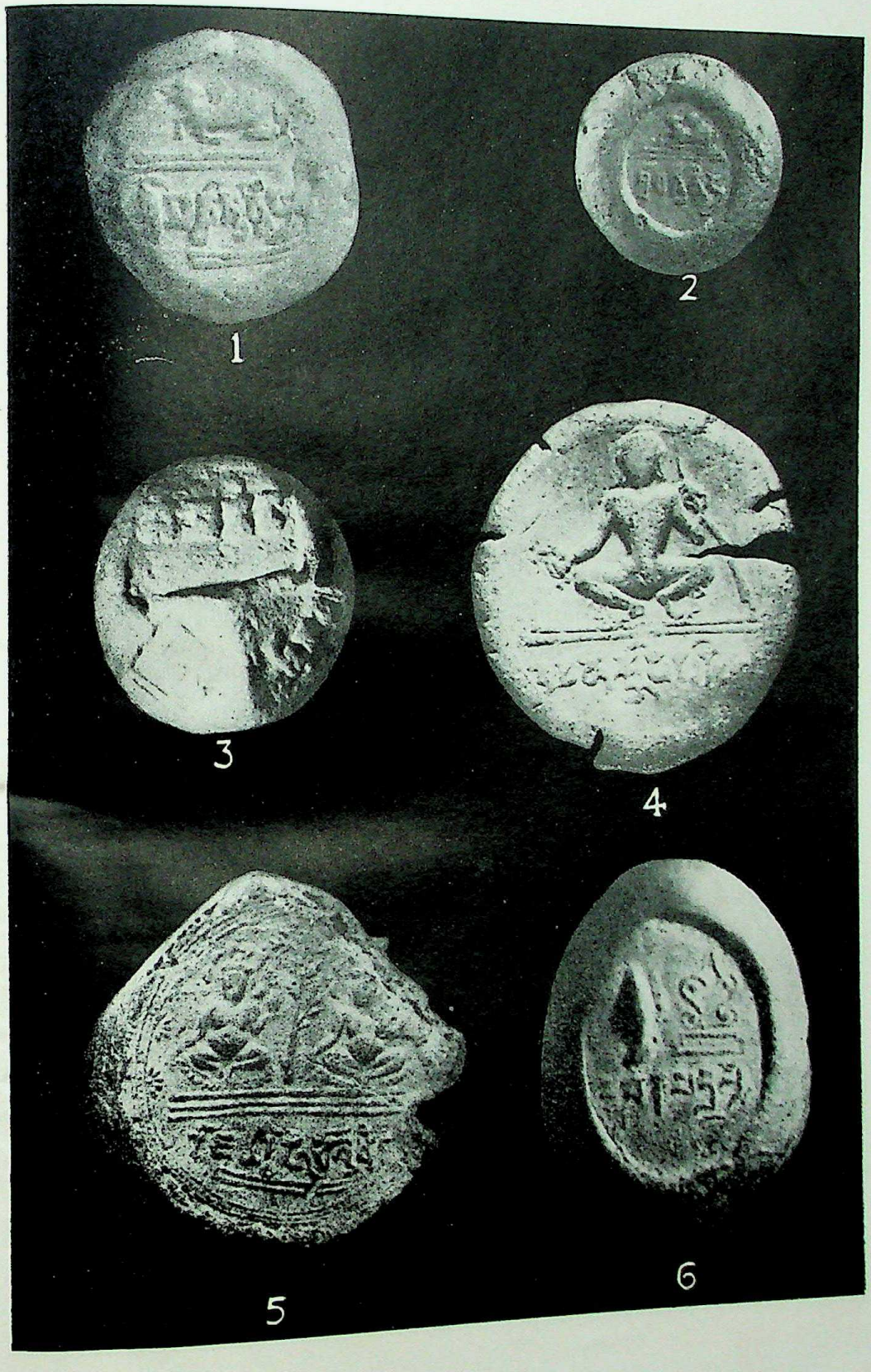

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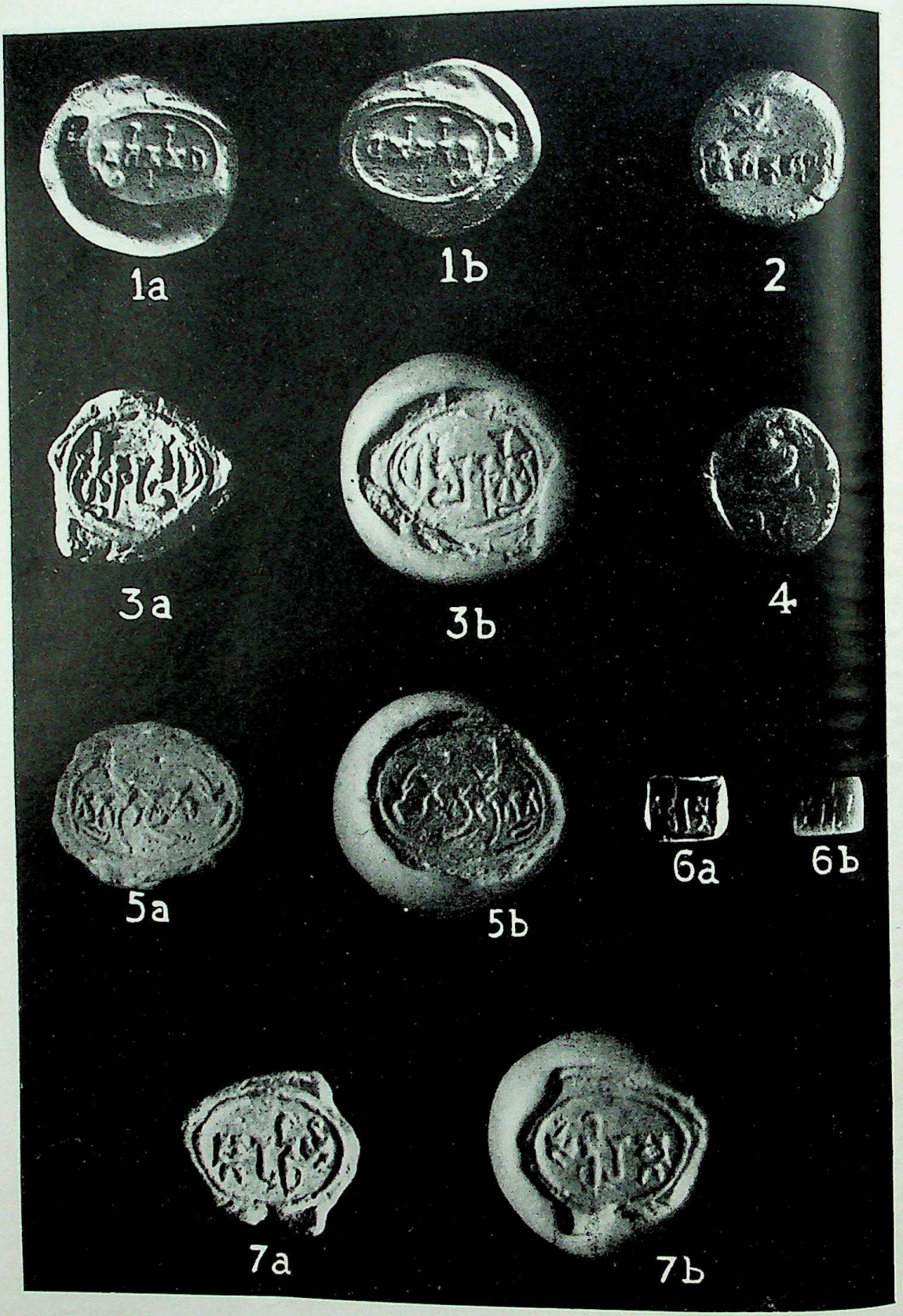

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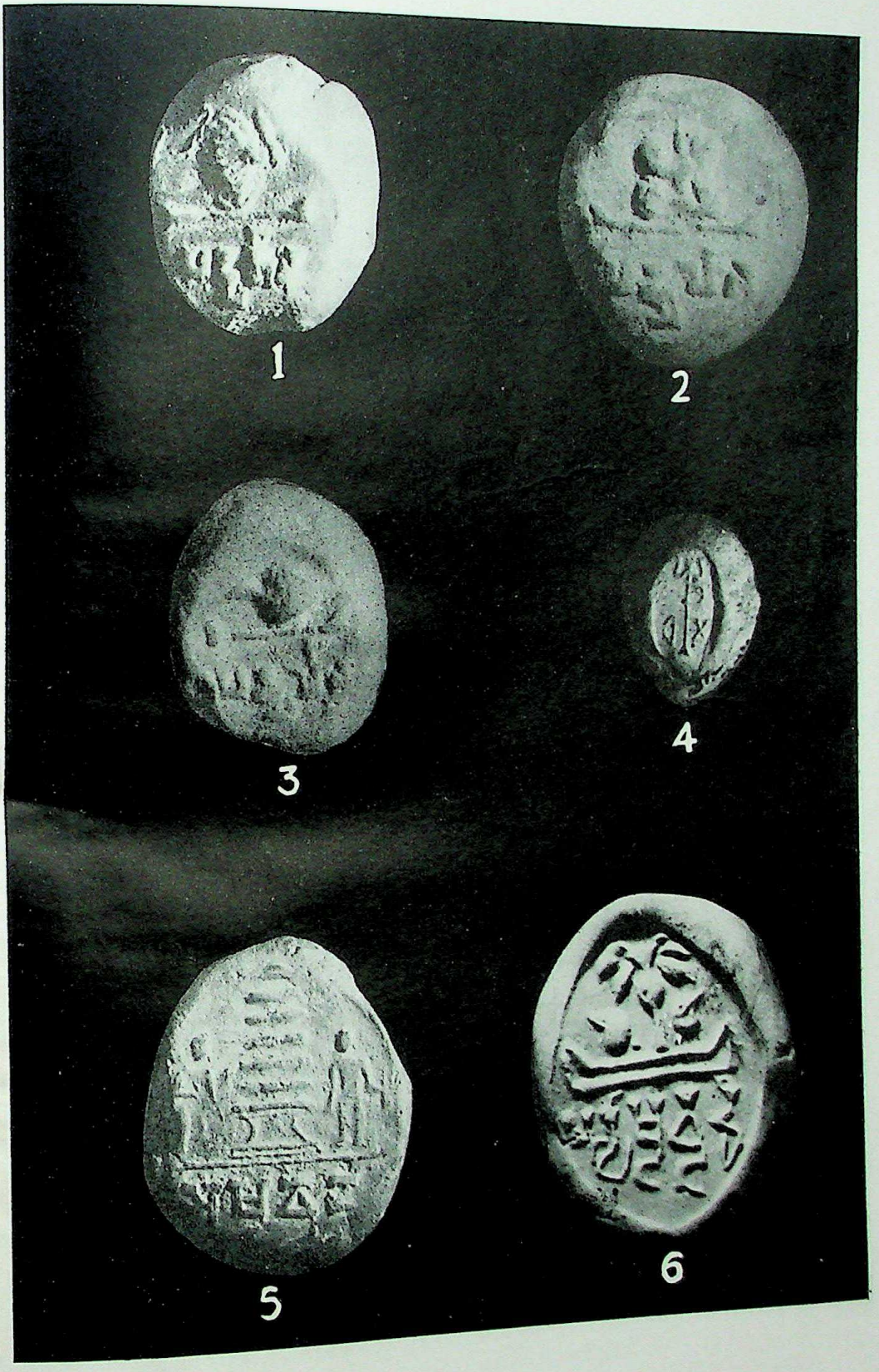

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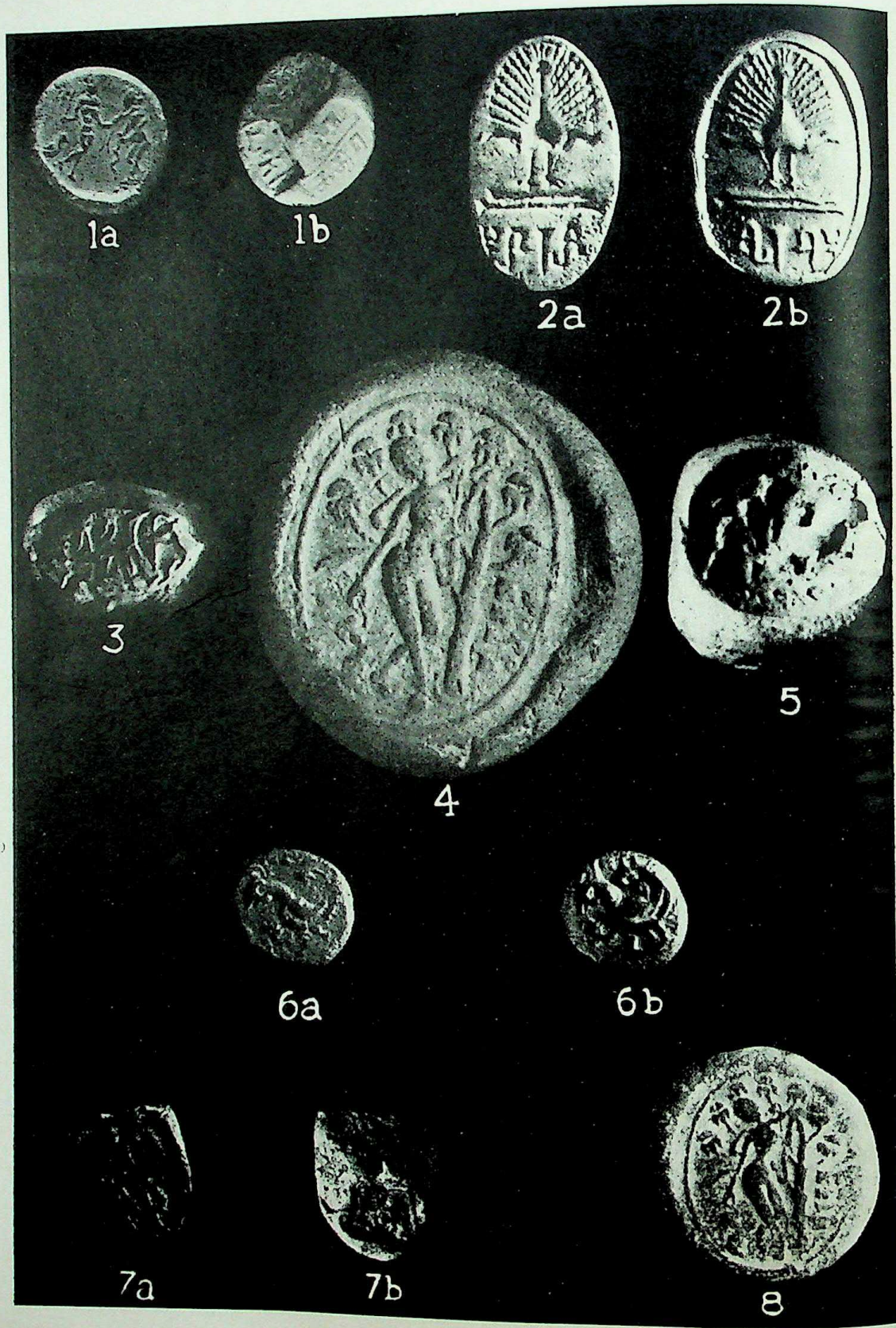

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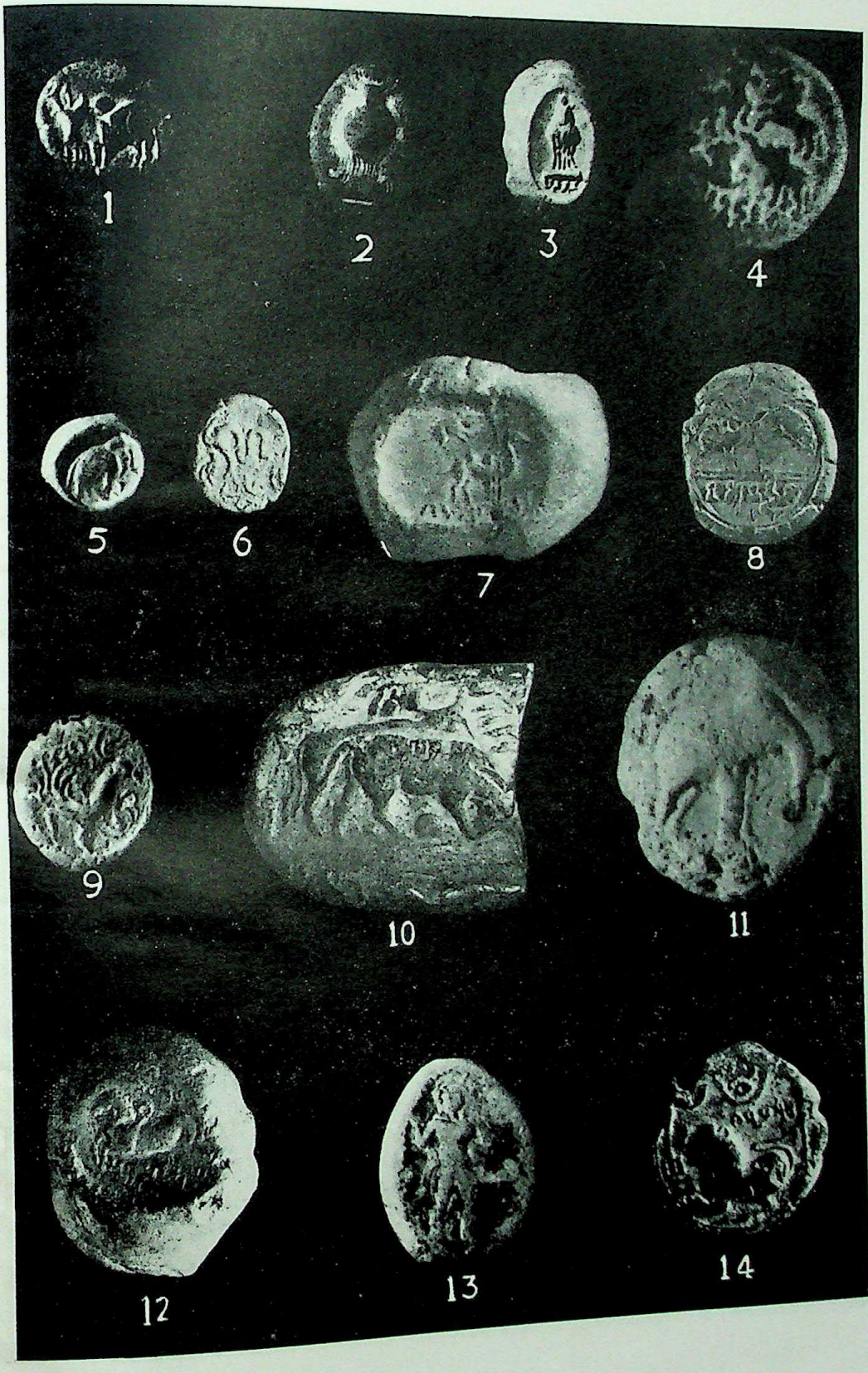

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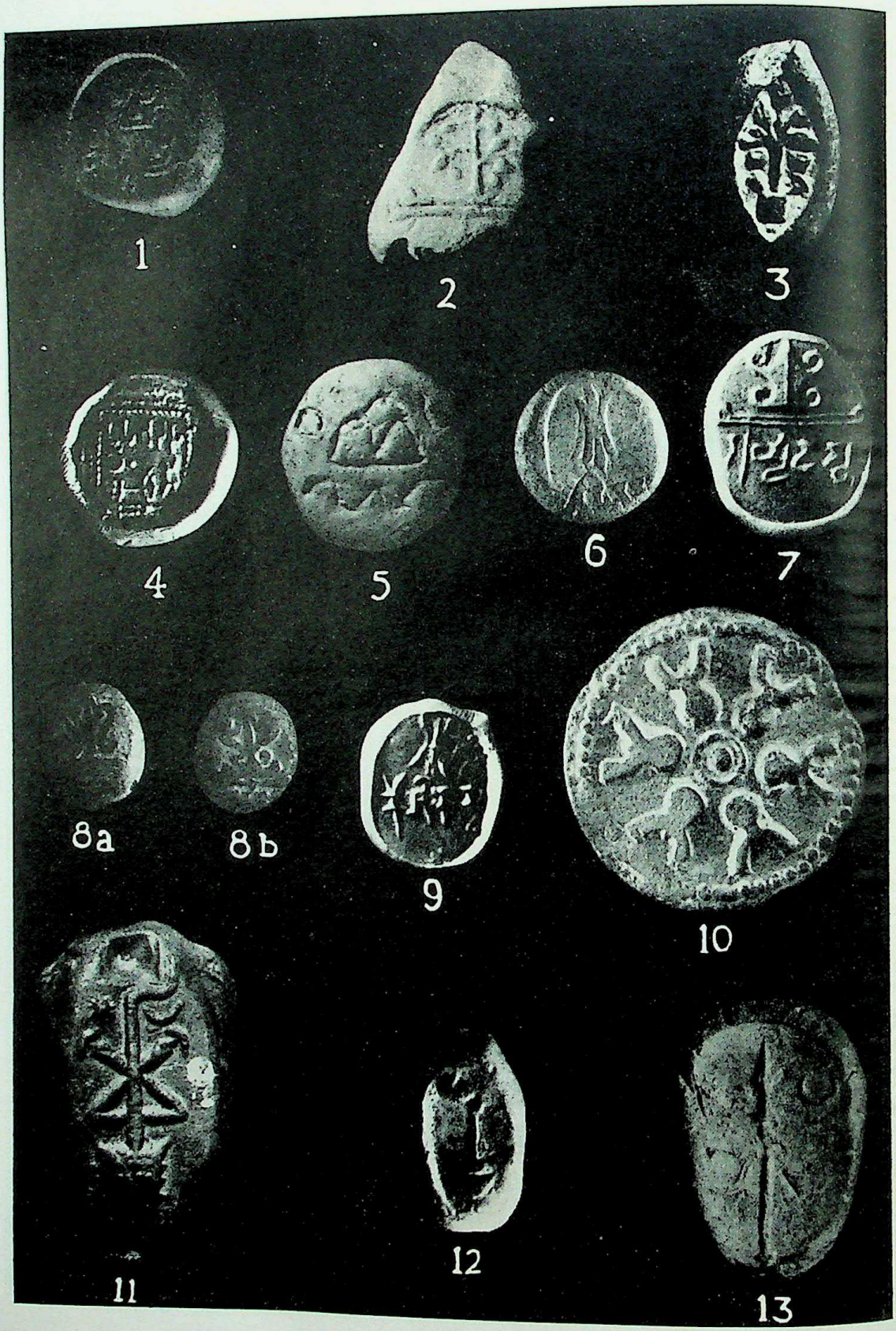

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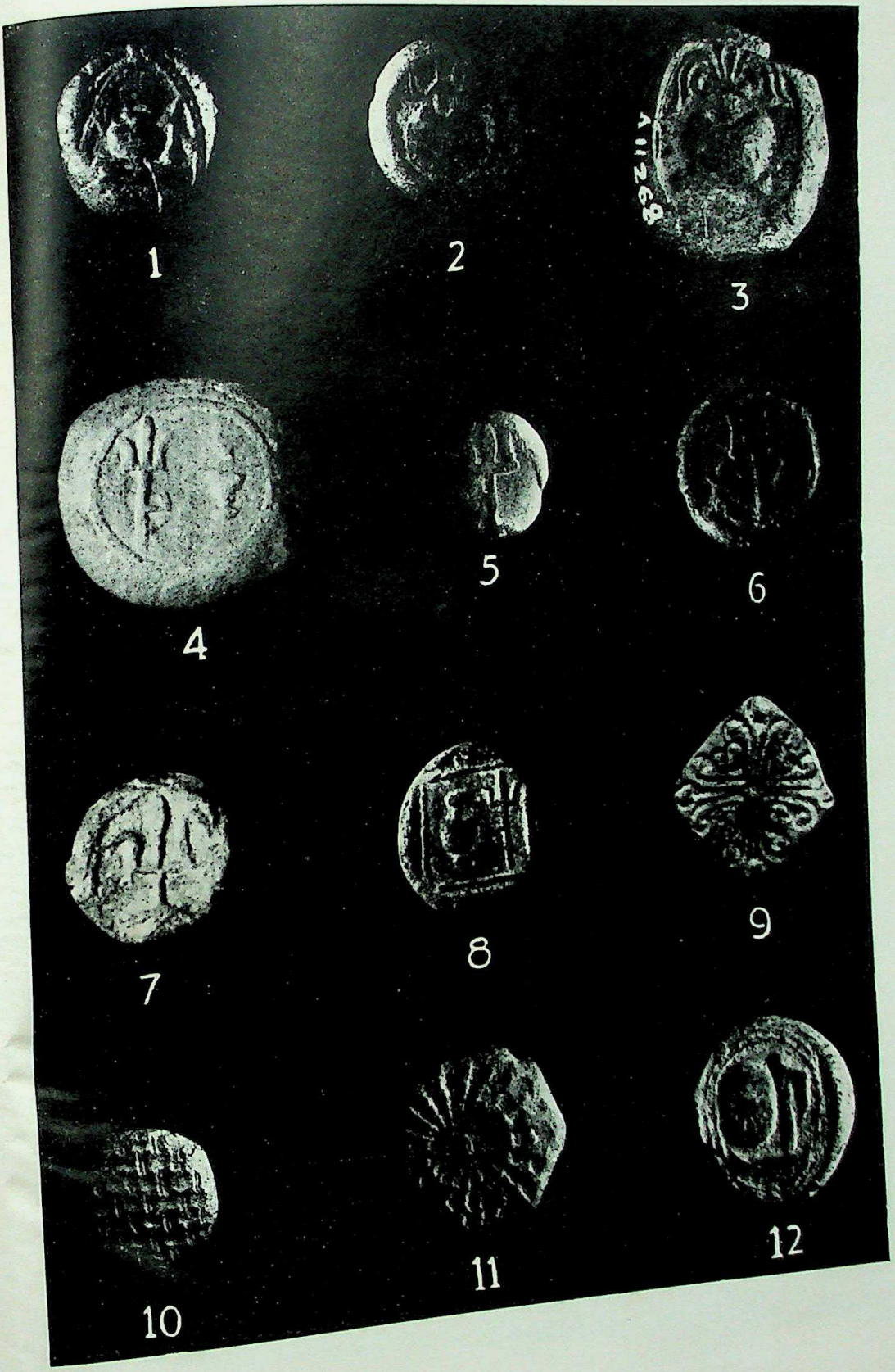

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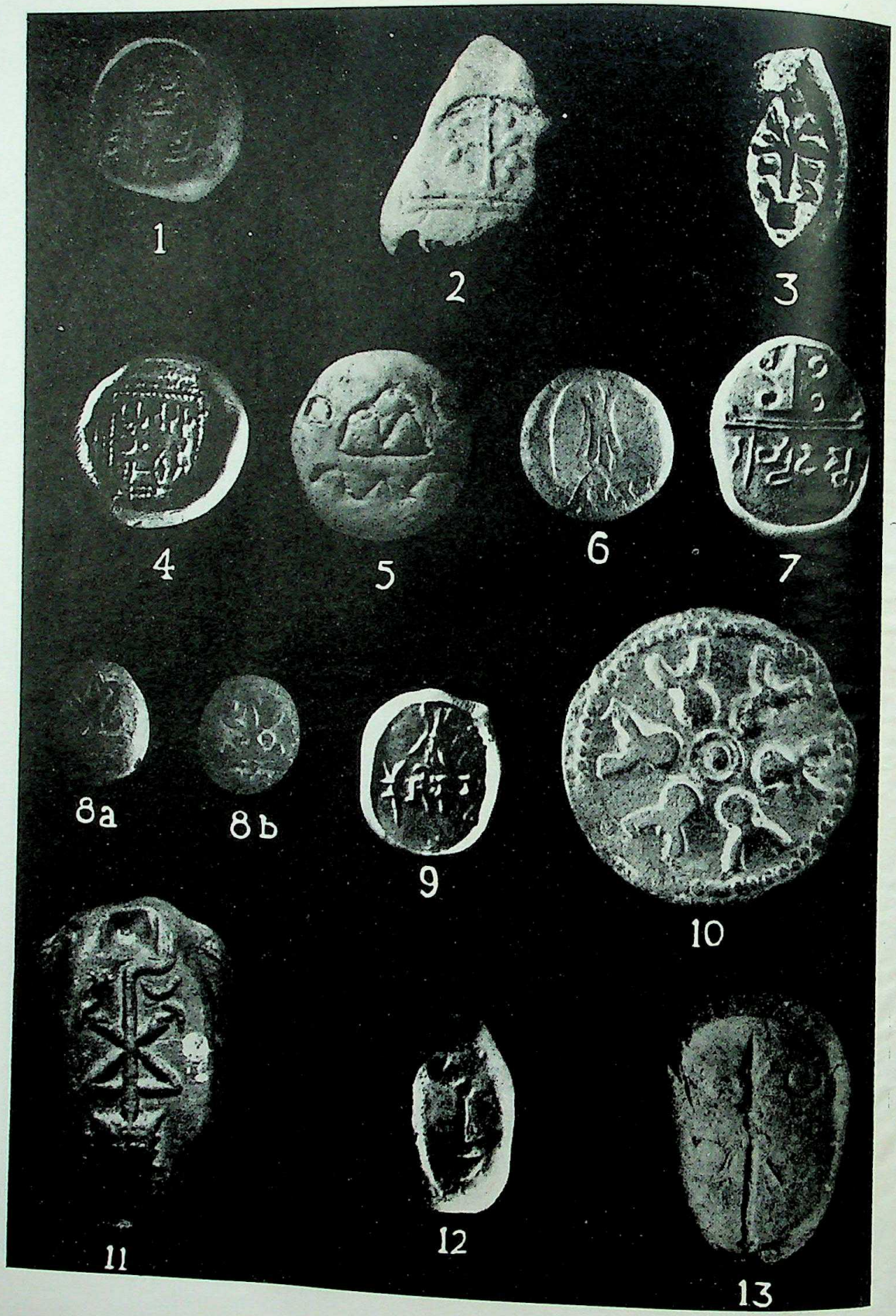

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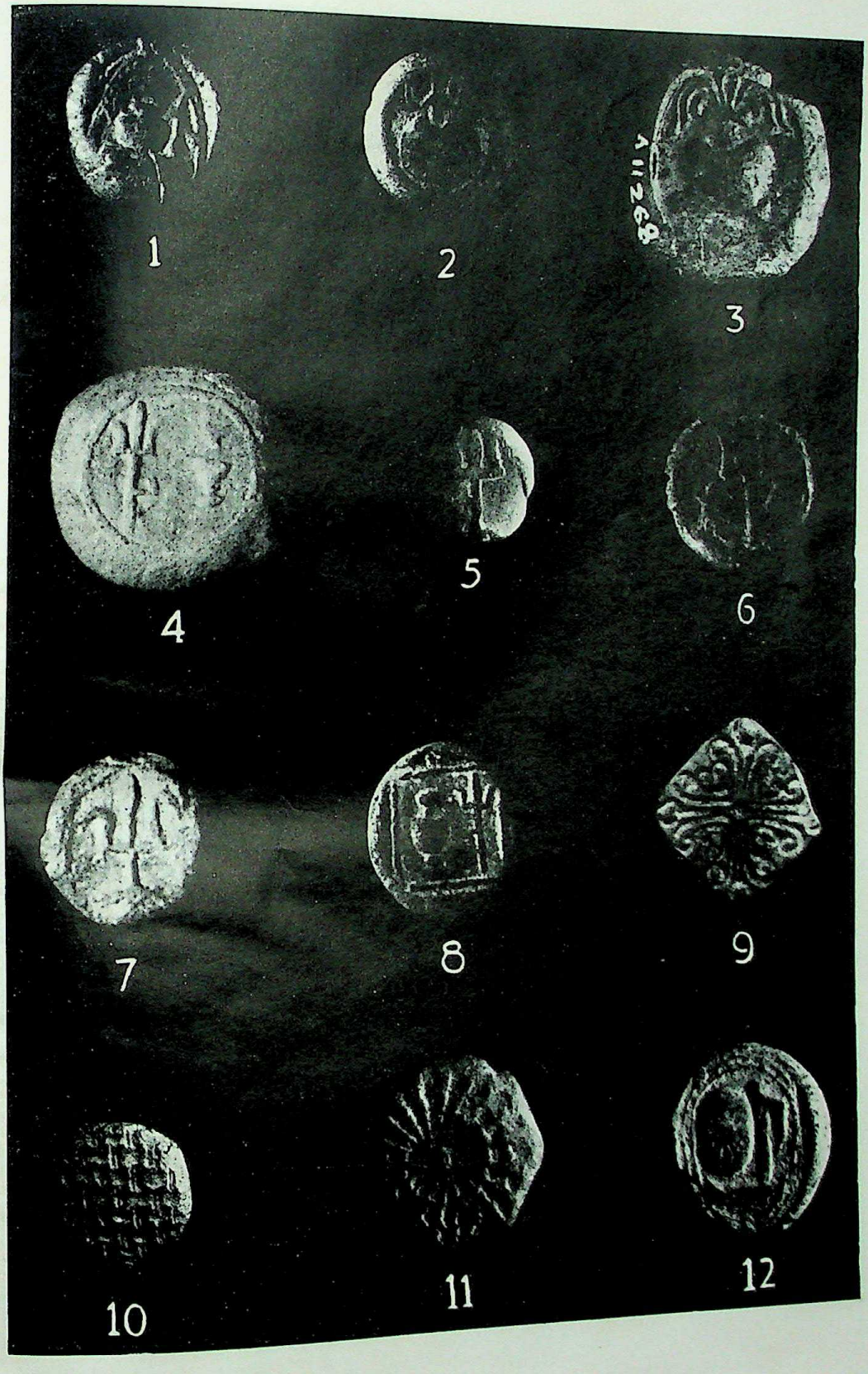

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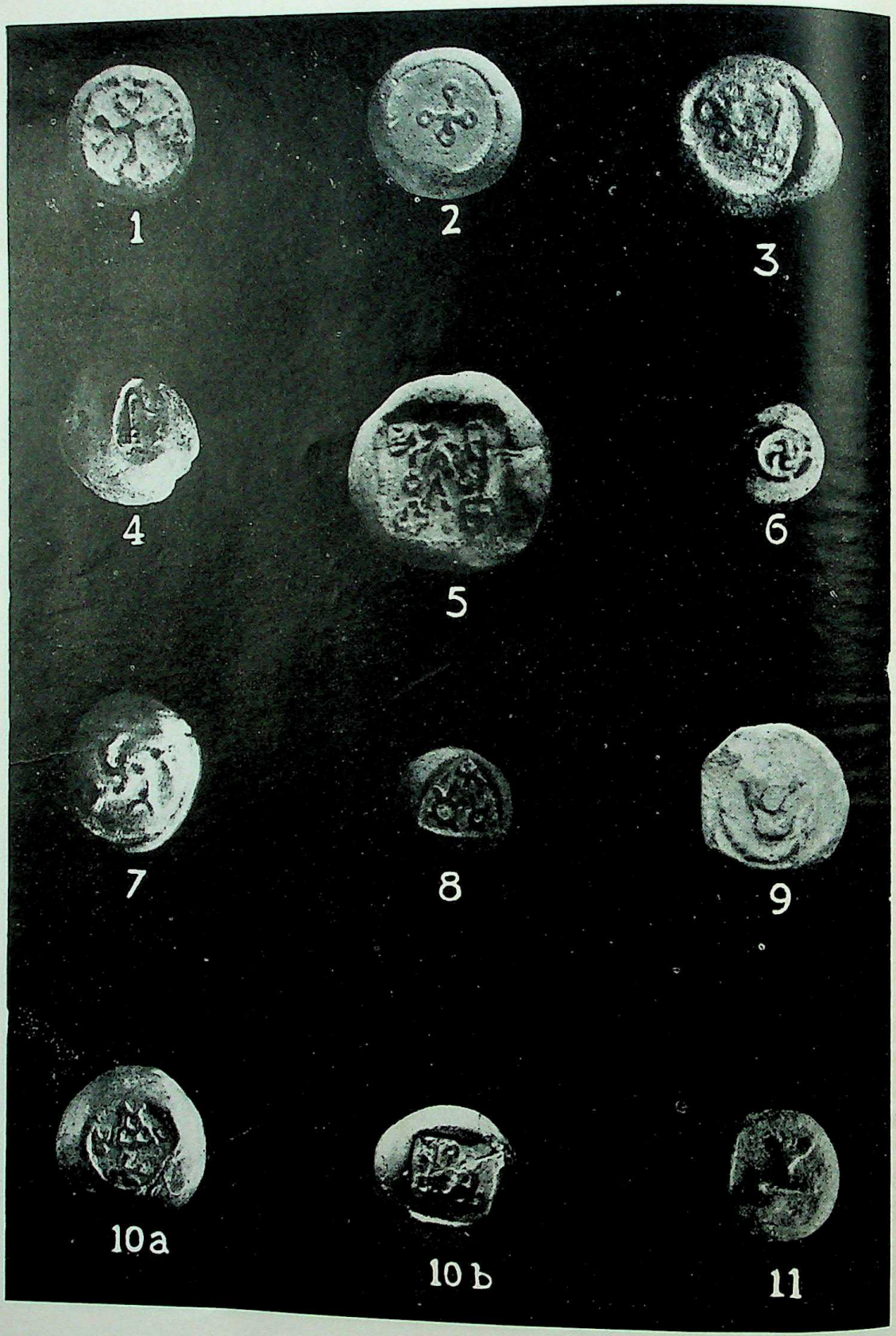

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PLATE XXXV

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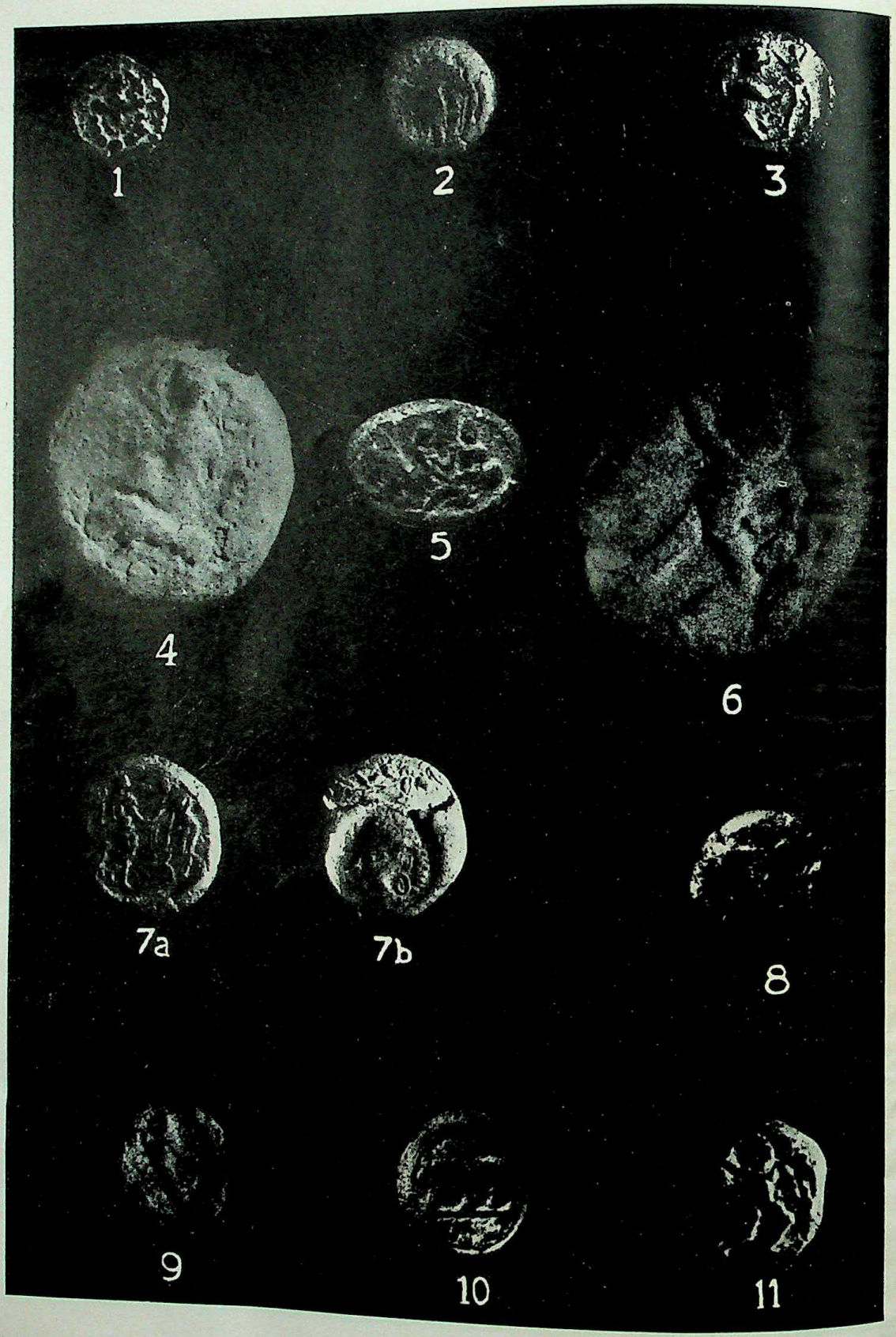
PLATE XXXVI



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